



United States  
of America

# Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 77<sup>th</sup> CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION

## SENATE

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 23, 1942

(Legislative day of Friday, February 13, 1942)

The Senate met at 12 o'clock noon, on the expiration of the recess.

The Reverend Theodore Otto Wedel, canon chancellor, Washington Cathedral, Washington, D. C., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, the Ancient of Days, before whose seeing eye the pageant of history unfolds and before whom the nations live out their predestined day: Grant to us of our generation to acknowledge Thy rule over the children of men. Ours is a heritage of reverence for Thy law and Thy truth. This very day is sacred in our memory, as we recall the Father of our Country, for he, too, bowed the knee before Thee and walked in the fear of the Lord. Make us, we pray Thee, aware of the tokens of Thy discipline and Thy mercy in our Nation's past. Imprint upon our hearts such a dread of Thy judgments and such a grateful sense of Thy goodness to us as may make us both afraid and ashamed to offend Thee. We ask it through Jesus Christ, our Lord. Amen.

### THE JOURNAL

On request of Mr. BARKLEY, and by unanimous consent, the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of the calendar day Thursday, February 19, 1942, was dispensed with, and the Journal was approved.

### MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT— APPROVAL OF BILLS

Messages in writing from the President of the United States were communicated to the Senate by Mr. Miller, one of his secretaries, who also announced that the President had approved and signed the following acts:

On February 19, 1942:

S. 314 An act for the relief of certain Basque aliens.

On February 20, 1942:

S. 2192 An act to extend the time for examination of quarterly accounts covering expenditures by disbursing officers of the United States Navy.

### CALL OF THE ROLL

Mr. HILL. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The clerk will call the roll.

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The Chief Clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Austin	Ellender	Nye
Bailey	Gerry	O'Daniel
Ball	Gillette	O'Mahoney
Bankhead	Glass	Overton
Barkley	Green	Radcliffe
Bilbo	Guffey	Reed
Bone	Gurney	Reynolds
Brewster	Hayden	Russell
Brown	Herring	Schwartz
Bulow	Hill	Smith
Bunker	Holman	Stewart
Burton	Johnson, Calif.	Taft
Butler	Johnson, Colo.	Thomas, Idaho
Byrd	Kilgore	Thomas, Okla.
Capper	La Follette	Truman
Caraway	Langer	Tunnell
Chavez	McCarran	Tydings
Clark, Idaho	McKellar	Vandenberg
Clark, Mo.	McNary	Van Nuys
Connally	Maloney	Wallgren
Danaher	Maybank	Wheeler
Davis	Millikin	White
Downey	Murray	Wiley
Doxey	Norris	

Mr. HILL. I announce that the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. HATCH] and the Senator from Utah [Mr. MURDOCK] are absent from the Senate because of illness.

The Senators from Florida [Mr. ANDREWS and Mr. PEPPER], the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. CHANDLER], the Senator from Georgia [Mr. GEORGE], the Senators from Delaware [Mr. HUGHES and Mr. TUNNELL], the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. LEE], the Senator from Illinois [Mr. LUCAS], the Senator from Arizona [Mr. McFARLAND], the Senators from New York [Mr. MEAD and Mr. WAGNER], the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. ROSIER], the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMATHERS], the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. SPENCER], the Senator from Utah [Mr. THOMAS], and the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. WALSH] are necessarily absent.

Mr. AUSTIN. My colleague the Senator from Vermont [Mr. AIKEN] is absent because of illness.

The Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. BRIDGES] is absent in a hospital because of a hip injury.

The Senator from New Jersey [Mr. BARBOUR] is unavoidably absent.

The Senator from Minnesota [Mr. SHIPSTEAD] is detained at his home by illness.

The Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE] and the Senator from Illinois [Mr. BROOKS] are absent on official business.

The Senator from Indiana [Mr. WILIS] is necessarily absent from the city.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Seventy-one Senators have answered to their names. A quorum is present.

### READING OF WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS

The VICE PRESIDENT. Pursuant to the standing order of the Senate of January 24, 1901, and in accordance with the designation heretofore made, THEODORE FRANCIS GREEN, a Senator from the State of Rhode Island, will now read Washington's Farewell Address.

Mr. GREEN advanced to the desk and read the Farewell Address, as follows:

*To the people of the United States.*

FRIENDS AND FELLOW CITIZENS: The period for a new election of a citizen to administer the executive government of the United States being not far distant, and the time actually arrived when your thoughts must be employed in designating the person who is to be clothed with that important trust, it appears to me proper, especially as it may conduce to a more distinct expression of the public voice, that I should now apprise you of the resolution I have formed, to decline being considered among the number of those, out of whom a choice is to be made.

I beg you, at the same time, to do me the justice to be assured, that this resolution has not been taken, without a strict regard to all the considerations appertaining to the relation which binds a dutiful citizen to his country; and that, in withdrawing the tender of service which silence in my situation might imply, I am influenced by no diminution of zeal for your future interest; no deficiency of grateful respect for your past kindness; but am supported by a full conviction that the step is compatible with both.

The acceptance of, and continuance hitherto in the office to which your suffrages have twice called me, have been a uniform sacrifice of inclination to the opinion of duty, and to a deference for what appeared to be your desire. I constantly hoped that it would have been much earlier in my power, consistently with motives which I was not at liberty to disregard, to return to that retirement from which I had been reluctantly drawn. The strength of my inclination to do this, previous to the last election, had even led to the preparation of an address to declare it to you; but mature reflection on the then perplexed and critical posture of our affairs with foreign nations, and the unanimous advice of persons entitled to my confidence, impelled me to abandon the idea.

I rejoice that the state of your concerns, external as well as internal, no longer renders the pursuit of inclination

incompatible with the sentiment of duty or propriety; and am persuaded, whatever partiality may be retained for my services, that in the present circumstances of our country, you will not disapprove my determination to retire.

The impressions with which I first undertook the arduous trust, were explained on the proper occasion. In the discharge of this trust, I will only say that I have, with good intentions, contributed towards the organization and administration of the government, the best exertions of which a very fallible judgment was capable. Not unconscious in the outset, of the inferiority of my qualifications, experience, in my own eyes, perhaps still more in the eyes of others, has strengthened the motives to diffidence of myself; and, every day, the increasing weight of years admonishes me more and more, that the shade of retirement is as necessary to me as it will be welcome. Satisfied that if any circumstances have given peculiar value to my services they were temporary, I have the consolation to believe that, while choice and prudence invite me to quit the political scene, patriotism does not forbid it.

In looking forward to the moment which is to terminate the career of my political life, my feelings do not permit me to suspend the deep acknowledgment of that debt of gratitude which I owe to my beloved country, for the many honors it has conferred upon me; still more for the steadfast confidence with which it has supported me; and for the opportunities I have thence enjoyed of manifesting my inviolable attachment, by services faithful and persevering, though in usefulness unequal to my zeal. If benefits have resulted to our country from these services, let it always be remembered to your praise, and as an instructive example in our annals, that under circumstances in which the passions, agitated in every direction, were liable to mislead amidst appearances sometimes dubious, vicissitudes of fortune often discouraging—in situations in which not unfrequently, want of success has countenanced the spirit of criticism,—the constancy of your support was the essential prop of the efforts, and a guarantee of the plans, by which they were effected. Profoundly penetrated with this idea, I shall carry it with me to my grave, as a strong incitement to unceasing vows that heaven may continue to you the choicest tokens of its beneficence—that your union and brotherly affection may be perpetual—that the free constitution, which is the work of your hands, may be sacredly maintained—that its administration in every department may be stamped with wisdom and virtue—that, in fine, the happiness of the people of these states, under the auspices of liberty, may be made complete by so careful a preservation, and so prudent a use of this blessing, as will acquire to them the glory of recommending it to the applause, the affection and adoption of every nation which is yet a stranger to it.

Here, perhaps, I ought to stop. But a solicitude for your welfare, which cannot

end but with my life, and the apprehension of danger, natural to that solicitude, urge me, on an occasion like the present, to offer to your solemn contemplation, and to recommend to your frequent review, some sentiments which are the result of much reflection, of no inconsiderable observation, and which appear to me all important to the permanency of your felicity as a people. These will be offered to you with the more freedom, as you can only see in them the disinterested warnings of a parting friend, who can possibly have no personal motive to bias his counsel. Nor can I forget, as an encouragement to it, your indulgent reception of my sentiments on a former and not dissimilar occasion.

Interwoven as is the love of liberty with every ligament of your hearts, no recommendation of mine is necessary to fortify or confirm the attachment.

The unity of government which constitutes you one people, is also now dear to you. It is justly so; for it is a main pillar in the edifice of your real independence; the support of your tranquility at home; your peace abroad; of your safety; of your prosperity; of that very liberty which you so highly prize. But as it is easy to foresee that, from different causes and from different quarters much pains will be taken, many artifices employed, to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth; as this is the point in your political fortress against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively (though often covertly and insidiously) directed; it is of infinite moment, that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national union to your collective and individual happiness; that you should cherish a cordial, habitual, and immovable attachment to it; accustoming yourselves to think and speak of it as of the palladium of your political safety and prosperity; watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety; discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can, in any event, be abandoned; and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts.

For this you have every inducement of sympathy and interest. Citizens by birth, or choice, of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections. The name of American, which belongs to you in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of patriotism, more than any appellation derived from local discriminations. With slight shades of difference, you have the same religion, manners habits, and political principles. You have, in a common cause, fought and triumphed together; the independence and liberty you possess, are the work of joint counsels, and joint efforts, of common dangers, sufferings and successes.

But these considerations, however powerfully they address themselves to your sensibility, are greatly outweighed by those which apply more immediately to your interest.—Here, every portion of our

country finds the most commanding motives for carefully guarding and preserving the union of the whole.

The *north*, in an unrestrained intercourse with the *south*, protected by the equal laws of a common government, finds in the productions of the latter, great additional resources of maritime and commercial enterprise, and precious materials of manufacturing industry.—The *south*, in the same intercourse, benefiting by the same agency of the *north*, sees its agriculture grow and its commerce expand. Turning partly into its own channels the seamen of the *north*, it finds its particular navigation invigorated; and while it contributes, in different ways, to nourish and increase the general mass of the national navigation, it looks forward to the protection of a maritime strength, to which itself is unequally adapted. The *east*, in a like intercourse with the *west*, already finds, and in the progressive improvement of interior communications by land and water, will more and more find a valuable vent for the commodities which it brings from abroad, or manufactures at home. The *west* derives from the *east* supplies requisite to its growth and comfort—and what is perhaps of still greater consequence, it must of necessity owe the secure enjoyment of indispensable outlets for its own productions, to the weight, influence, and the future maritime strength of the Atlantic side of the Union, directed by an indissoluble community of interest as *one nation*. Any other tenure by which the *west* can hold this essential advantage, whether derived from its own separate strength; or from an apostate and unnatural connection with any foreign power, must be intrinsically precarious.

While then every part of our country thus feels an immediate and particular interest in union, all the parts combined cannot fail to find in the united mass of means and efforts, greater strength, greater resource, proportionably greater security from external danger, a less frequent interruption of their peace by foreign nations; and, what is of inestimable value, they must derive from union an exemption from those broils and wars between themselves, which so frequently afflict neighboring countries not tied together by the same government; which their own rivalry alone would be sufficient to produce, but which opposite foreign alliances, attachments, and intrigues, would stimulate and embitter. Hence likewise, they will avoid the necessity of those overgrown military establishments which under any form of government are inauspicious to liberty, and which are to be regarded as particularly hostile to republican liberty. In this sense it is that your union ought to be considered as a main prop of your liberty, and that the love of the one ought to endear to you the preservation of the other.

These considerations speak a persuasive language to every reflecting and virtuous mind and exhibit the continuance of the union as a primary object of patriotic desire. Is there a doubt whether a common government can embrace so large



a sphere? let experience solve it. To listen to mere speculation in such a case were criminal. We are authorized to hope that a proper organization of the whole, with the auxiliary agency of governments for the respective subdivisions, will afford a happy issue to the experiment. It is well worth a fair and full experiment. With such powerful and obvious motives to union, affecting all parts of our country, while experience shall not have demonstrated its impracticability, there will always be reason to distrust the patriotism of those who, in any quarter, may endeavor to weaken its hands.

In contemplating the causes which may disturb our Union, it occurs as matter of serious concern, that any ground should have been furnished for characterizing parties by *geographical* discriminations,—*northern* and *southern*—*Atlantic* and *western*; whence designing men may endeavor to excite a belief that there is a real difference of local interests and views. One of the expedients of party to acquire influence within particular districts, is to misrepresent the opinions and aims of other districts. You cannot shield yourselves too much against the jealousies and heart burnings which spring from these misrepresentations; they tend to render alien to each other those who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection. The inhabitants of our western country have lately had a useful lesson on this head; they have seen, in the negotiation by the executive, and in the unanimous ratification by the senate of the treaty with Spain, and in the universal satisfaction at the event throughout the United States, a decisive proof how unfounded were the suspicions propagated among them of a policy in the general government and in the Atlantic states, unfriendly to their interests in regard to the Mississippi. They have been witnesses to the formation of two treaties, that with Great Britain and that with Spain, which secure to them everything they could desire, in respect to our foreign relations, towards confirming their prosperity. Will it not be their wisdom to rely for the preservation of these advantages on the union by which they were procured? will they not henceforth be deaf to those advisers, if such they are, who would sever them from their brethren and connect them with aliens?

To the efficacy and permanency of your Union, a government for the whole is indispensable. No alliances, however strict, between the parts can be an adequate substitute; they must inevitably experience the infractions and interruptions which all alliances, in all times, have experienced. Sensible of this momentous truth, you have improved upon your first essay, by the adoption of a constitution of government, better calculated than your former, for an intimate union, and for the efficacious management of your common concerns. This government, the offspring of our own choice, uninfluenced and unawed, adopted upon full investigation and mature deliberation, completely free in its principles, in the distribution of its powers, uniting security with energy, and maintaining

within itself a provision for its own amendment, has a just claim to your confidence and your support. Respect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true liberty. The basis of our political systems is the right of the people to make and to alter their constitutions of government.—But the constitution which at any time exists, until changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is sacredly obligatory upon all. The very idea of the power, and the right of the people to establish government, presuppose the duty of every individual to obey the established government.

All obstructions to the execution of the laws, all combinations and associations under whatever plausible character, with the real design to direct, control, counteract, or awe the regular deliberations and action of the constituted authorities, are destructive of this fundamental principle, and of fatal tendency.—They serve to organize faction, to give it an artificial and extraordinary force, to put in the place of the delegated will of the nation the will of party, often a small but artful and enterprising minority of the community; and, according to the alternate triumphs of different parties, to make the public administration the mirror of the ill concerted and incongruous projects of faction, rather than the organ of consistent and wholesome plans digested by common councils, and modified by mutual interests.

However combinations or associations of the above description may now and then answer popular ends, they are likely, in the course of time and things, to become potent engines, by which cunning, ambitious, and unprincipled men, will be enabled to subvert the power of the people, and to usurp for themselves the reins of government; destroying afterwards the very engines which have lifted them to unjust dominion.

Towards the preservation of your government and the permanency of your present happy state, it is requisite, not only that you steadily discountenance irregular opposition to its acknowledged authority, but also that you resist with care the spirit of innovation upon its principles, however specious the pretext. One method of assault may be to effect, in the forms of the constitution, alterations which will impair the energy of the system; and thus to undermine what cannot be directly overthrown. In all the changes to which you may be invited, remember that time and habit are at least as necessary to fix the true character of governments, as of other human institutions:—that experience is the surest standard by which to test the real tendency of the existing constitution of a country:—that facility in changes, upon the credit of mere hypothesis and opinion, exposes to perpetual change from the endless variety of hypothesis and opinion: and remember, especially, that for the efficient management of your common interests in a country so extensive as ours, a government of as much vigor as is consistent with the perfect

security of liberty is indispensable. Liberty itself will find in such a government, with powers properly distributed and adjusted, its surest guardian. It is, indeed, little else than a name, where the government is too feeble to withstand the enterprises of faction, to confine each member of the society within the limits prescribed by the laws, and to maintain all in the secure and tranquil enjoyment of the rights of person and property.

I have already intimated to you the danger of parties in the state, with particular references to the founding them on geographical discrimination. Let me now take a more comprehensive view, and warn you in the most solemn manner against the baneful effects of the spirit of party generally.

This spirit, unfortunately, is inseparable from our nature, having its root in the strongest passions of the human mind.—It exists under different shapes in all governments, more or less stifled, controlled, or repressed; but in those of the popular form it is seen in its greatest rankness, and is truly their worst enemy.

The alternate domination of one faction over another, sharpened by the spirit of revenge natural to party dissension, which in different ages and countries has perpetrated the most horrid enormities, is itself a frightful despotism.—But this leads at length to a more formal and permanent despotism. The disorders and miseries which result, gradually incline the minds of men to seek security and repose in the absolute power of an individual; and, sooner or later, the chief of some prevailing faction, more able or more fortunate than his competitors, turns this disposition to the purpose of his own elevation on the ruins of public liberty.

Without looking forward to an extremity of this kind, (which nevertheless ought not to be entirely out of sight) the common and continual mischiefs of the spirit of party are sufficient to make it the interest and duty of a wise people to discourage and restrain it.

It serves always to distract the public councils, and enfeeble the public administration. It agitates the community with ill founded jealousies and false alarms; kindles the animosity of one part against another; foment occasional riot and insurrection. It opens the door to foreign influence and corruption, which finds a facilitated access to the government itself through the channels of party passions. Thus the policy and the will of one country are subjected to the policy and will of another.

There is an opinion that parties in free countries are useful checks upon the administration of the government, and serve to keep alive the spirit of liberty. This within certain limits is probably true; and in governments of a monarchical cast, patriotism may look with indulgence, if not with favor, upon the spirit of party. But in those of the popular character, in governments purely elective, it is a spirit not to be encouraged. From their natural tendency, it is certain there will always be enough of that spirit for every salutary purpose. And there being constant danger of excess, the

effort ought to be, by force of public opinion, to mitigate and assuage it. A fire not to be quenched, it demands a uniform vigilance to prevent it bursting into a flame, lest instead of warming, it should consume.

It is important likewise, that the habits of thinking in a free country should inspire caution in those intrusted with its administration, to confine themselves within their respective constitutional spheres, avoiding in the exercise of the powers of one department, to encroach upon another. The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create, whatever the form of government, a real despotism. A just estimate of that love of power and proneness to abuse it which predominate in the human heart, is sufficient to satisfy us of the truth of this position. The necessity of reciprocal checks in the exercise of political power, by dividing and distributing it into different depositories, and constituting each the guardian of the public weal against invasions of the others, has been evinced by experiments ancient and modern; some of them in our country and under our own eyes.—To preserve them must be as necessary as to institute them. If, in the opinion of the people, the distribution or modification of the constitutional powers be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in the way which the constitution designates.—But let there be no change by usurpation; for though this, in one instance, may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed. The precedent must always greatly overbalance in permanent evil any partial or transient benefit which the use can at any time yield.

Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism, who should labor to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens. The mere politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and to cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connections with private and public felicity. Let it simply be asked, where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation *desert* the oaths which are the instruments of investigation in courts of justice? and let us with caution indulge the supposition that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect, that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle.

It is substantially true, that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government. The rule, indeed extends with more or less force to every species of free government. Who that is a sincere friend to it can look with indifference upon attempts to shake the foundation of the fabric?

Promote, then, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general

diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it should be enlightened.

As a very important source of strength and security, cherish public credit. One method of preserving it is to use it as sparingly as possible, avoiding occasions of expense by cultivating peace, but remembering, also, that timely disbursements, to prepare for danger, frequently prevent much greater disbursements to repel it; avoiding likewise the accumulation of debt, not only by shunning occasions of expense, but by vigorous exertions, in time of peace, to discharge the debts which unavoidable wars may have occasioned, not ungenerously throwing upon posterity the burden which we ourselves ought to bear. The execution of these maxims belongs to your representatives, but it is necessary that public opinion should co-operate. To facilitate to them the performance of their duty, it is essential that you should practically bear in mind, that towards the payment of debts there must be revenue; that to have revenue there must be taxes, that no taxes can be devised which are not more or less inconvenient and unpleasant; that the intrinsic embarrassment inseparable from the selection of the proper object (which is always a choice of difficulties,) ought to be a decisive motive for a candid construction of the conduct of the government in making it, and for a spirit of acquiescence in the measures for obtaining revenue, which the public exigencies may at any time dictate.

Observe good faith and justice towards all nations; cultivate peace and harmony with all. Religion and morality enjoin this conduct, and can it be that good policy does not equally enjoin it? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and, at no distant period, a great nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence. Who can doubt but, in the course of time and things, the fruits of such a plan would richly repay any temporary advantages which might be lost by a steady adherence to it; can it be that Providence has not connected the permanent felicity of a nation with its virtue? The experiment, at least is recommended by every sentiment which ennobles human nature. Alas! is it rendered impossible by its vices?

In the execution of such a plan, nothing is more essential than that permanent, inveterate antipathies against particular nations and passionate attachments for others, should be excluded; and that, in place of them, just and amicable feelings towards all should be cultivated. The nation which indulges towards another an habitual hatred, or an habitual fondness, is in some degree a slave. It is a slave to its animosity or to its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interest. Antipathy in one nation against another disposes each more readily to offer insult and injury, to lay hold of slight causes of umbrage, and to be haughty and intractable when accidental or trifling occasions of dispute occur. Hence, fre-

quent collisions, obstinate, envenomed, and bloody contests. The nation, prompted by ill will and resentment, sometimes impels to war the government, contrary to the best calculations of policy. The government sometimes participates in the national propensity, and adopts through passion what reason would reject; at other times, it makes the animosity of the nation subservient to projects of hostility, instigated by pride, ambition, and other sinister and pernicious motives. The peace often, sometimes perhaps the liberty of nations, has been the victim.

So likewise, a passionate attachment of one nation for another produces a variety of evils. Sympathy for the favorite nation, facilitating the illusion of an imaginary common interest, in cases where no real common interest exists, and infusing into one the enmities of the other, betrays the former into a participation in the quarrels and wars of the latter, without adequate inducements or justifications. It leads also to concessions, to the favorite nation, of privileges denied to others, which is apt doubly to injure the nation making the concessions, by unnecessarily parting with what ought to have been retained, and by exciting jealousy, ill will, and a disposition to retaliate in the parties from whom equal privileges are withheld; and it gives to ambitious, corrupted or deluded citizens who devote themselves to the favorite nation, facility to betray or sacrifice the interests of their own country, without odium, sometimes even with popularity; gilding with the appearances of a virtuous sense of obligation, a commendable deference for public opinion, or a laudable zeal for public good, the base or foolish compliances of ambition, corruption, or infatuation.

As avenues to foreign influence in innumerable ways, such attachments are particularly alarming to the truly enlightened and independent patriot. How many opportunities do they afford to tamper with domestic factions, to practice the arts of seduction, to mislead public opinion, to influence or awe the public councils!—Such an attachment of a small or weak, towards a great and powerful nation, dooms the former to be the satellite of the latter.

Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence, (I conjure you to believe me fellow citizens,) the jealousy of a free people ought to be *constantly* awake; since history and experience prove, that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican government. But that jealousy, to be useful, must be impartial, else it becomes the instrument of the very influence to be avoided, instead of a defense against it. Excessive partiality for one foreign nation and excessive dislike for another, cause those whom they actuate to see danger only on one side, and serve to veil and even second the arts of influence on the other. Real patriots, who may resist the intrigues of the favorite, are liable to become suspected and odious; while its tools and dupes usurp the applause and confidence of the people, to surrender their interests.



The great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign nations, is, in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little political connection as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements, let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith:—Here let us stop.

Europe has a set of primary interests, which to us have none, or a very remote relation. Hence, she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves, by artificial ties, in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics, or the ordinary combinations and collusions of her friendships or enmities.

Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course. If we remain one people, under an efficient government, the period is not far off when we may defy material injury from external annoyance; when we may take such an attitude as will cause the neutrality we may at any time resolve upon, to be scrupulously respected; when belligerent nations under the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us, will not lightly hazard the giving us provocation, when we may choose peace or war, as our interests guided by justice, shall counsel.

Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation? Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalry, interest, humor, or caprice?

It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliance with any portion of the foreign world; so far, I mean, as we are now at liberty to do it; for let me not be understood as capable of patronizing infidelity to existing engagements. I hold the maximum no less applicable to public than private affairs, that honesty is always the best policy. I repeat it, therefore, let those engagements be observed in their genuine sense. But in my opinion, it is unnecessary, and would be unwise to extend them.

Taking care always to keep ourselves by suitable establishments, on a respectable defensive posture, we may safely trust to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies.

Harmony, and a liberal intercourse with all nations, are recommended by policy, humanity and interest. But even our commercial policy should hold an equal and impartial hand: neither seeking nor granting exclusive favors or preferences; consulting the natural course of things; diffusing and diversifying by gentle means the streams of commerce, but forcing nothing; establishing with powers so disposed, in order to give trade a stable course, to define the rights of our merchants, and to enable the government to support them, conventional rules of intercourse, the best that present circumstances and mutual opinion will permit, but temporary and liable to be from time to time abandoned or varied as experience and circumstances shall dictate; constantly keeping in view, that it

is folly in one nation to look for disinterested favors from another; that it must pay with a portion of its independence for whatever it may accept under that character; that by such acceptance, it may place itself in the condition of having given equivalents for nominal favors, and yet of being reproached with ingratitude for not giving more. There can be no greater error than to expect, or calculate upon real favors from nation to nation. It is an illusion which experience must cure, which a just pride ought to discard.

In offering to you, my countrymen, these counsels of an old and affectionate friend, I dare not hope they will make the strong and lasting impression I could wish; that they will control the usual current of the passions, or prevent our nation from running the course which has hitherto marked the destiny of nations, but if I may even flatter myself that they may be productive of some partial benefit, some occasional good; that they may now and then recur to moderate the fury of party spirit, to warn against the mischiefs of foreign intrigue, to guard against the impostures of pretended patriotism; this hope will be a full recompense for the solicitude for your welfare by which they have been dictated.

How far, in the discharge of my official duties, I have been guided by the principles which have been delineated, the public records and other evidences of my conduct must witness to you and to the world. To myself, the assurance of my own conscience is, that I have, at least, believed myself to be guided by them.

In relation to the still subsisting war in Europe; my proclamation of the 22d of April, 1793, is the index to my plan. Sanctioned by your approving voice, and by that of your representatives in both houses of congress, the spirit of that measure has continually governed me, uninfluenced by any attempts to deter or divert me from it.

After deliberate examination, with the aid of the best lights I could obtain, I was well satisfied that our country, under all the circumstances of the case, had a right to take, and was bound, in duty and interest, to take a neutral position. Having taken it, I determined, as far as should depend upon me, to maintain it with moderation, perseverance and firmness.

The considerations which respect the right to hold this conduct, it is not necessary on this occasion to detail. I will only observe that, according to my understanding of the matter, that right, so far from being denied by any of the belligerent powers, has been virtually admitted by all.

The duty of holding a neutral conduct may be inferred, without any thing more, from the obligation which justice and humanity impose on every nation, in cases in which it is free to act, to maintain inviolate the relations of peace and amity towards other nations.

The inducements of interest for observing that conduct will best be referred to your own reflections and experience. With me, a predominant motive has been to endeavor to gain time to our country

to settle and mature its yet recent institutions, and to progress, without interruption, to that degree of strength, and consistency which is necessary to give it, humanly speaking, the command of its own fortunes.

Though in reviewing the incidents of my administration, I am unconscious of intentional error, I am nevertheless too sensible of my defects not to think it probable that I may have committed many errors. Whatever they may be, I fervently beseech the Almighty to avert or mitigate the evils to which they may tend. I shall also carry with me the hope that my country will never cease to view them with indulgence; and that, after forty-five years of my life dedicated to its service, with an upright zeal the faults of incompetent abilities will be consigned to oblivion, as myself must soon be to the mansions of rest.

Relying on its kindness in this as in other things, and actuated by that fervent love towards it, which is so natural to a man who views in it the native soil of himself and his progenitors for several generations; I anticipate with pleasing expectation that retreat in which I promise myself to realize, without alloy, the sweet enjoyment of partaking, in the midst of my fellow citizens, the benign influence of good laws under a free government—the ever favorite object of my heart, and the happy reward, as I trust, of our mutual cares, labors and dangers.

GEO. WASHINGTON.

UNITED STATES,

19th September, 1796.

#### ENROLLED BILL SIGNED DURING RECESS

Under authority of the order of the 19th instant,

The VICE PRESIDENT announced that on February 20, 1942, he signed the enrolled bill (H. R. 6548) making appropriations to supply deficiencies in certain appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1942, and for prior fiscal years, to provide supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1942, and for other purposes, which had been signed previously by the Speaker of the House of Representatives.

#### EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate the following communications and letter, which were referred as indicated:

#### AMENDMENT TO BUDGET, AFFECTING EXISTING APPROPRIATIONS (S. Doc. No. 183)

A communication from the President of the United States, transmitting a proposed provision in the form of an amendment to the Budget for the fiscal year 1943, affecting existing appropriations for the fiscal year 1942, and the estimates of appropriations for the fiscal year 1943 (with an accompanying paper); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

#### SUPPLEMENTAL ESTIMATE FOR MILITARY ACTIVITIES OF THE WAR DEPARTMENT (S. Doc. No. 184)

A communication from the President of the United States, transmitting an emergency supplemental estimate of appropriation, in the amount of \$596,836,000, fiscal year 1942, to remain available until June 30, 1943, for the military activities of the War Department (with an accompanying paper); to the Com-

mittee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

**INCREASED ESTIMATES OF APPROPRIATION FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE (S. Doc. No. 185)**

A communication from the President of the United States, transmitting certain modifications of the Budget for the fiscal year 1943, involving changes in appropriation text and increases of estimates of appropriations for the Department of Commerce, amounting to \$113,700 (with an accompanying paper); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

**FACILITATION OF COLLECTION PROCEDURE IN THE INTERIOR DEPARTMENT**

A letter from the Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to facilitate and simplify collection procedure in the Department of the Interior (with an accompanying paper); to the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys.

**PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS**

Petitions, etc., were laid before the Senate, or presented, and referred as indicated:

By the VICE PRESIDENT:

A resolution adopted by the Board of Chosen Freeholders of Passaic County, N. J., protesting against the enactment of legislation to impose a Federal tax on municipal, county, or State bonds; to the Committee on Finance.

A petition of sundry citizens of Alameda and Oakland, Calif., praying for the enactment of legislation to control prices in the Nation; ordered to lie on the table.

A letter in the nature of a petition from W. Edgar Bate, of Philadelphia, Pa., praying for the repeal of the law granting annuity benefits to Members of Congress and other officials; ordered to lie on the table.

A concurrent resolution of the Legislature of the State of Kentucky; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

"Senate Resolution No. 42

"Adopted by the Senate of Kentucky February 16, 1942, and concurred in by the House of Representatives February 17, 1942

"Whereas 151 years ago President George Washington approved an act of Congress authorizing the admission into the Union of the State of Kentucky, effective on the 1st of June 1792; and

"Whereas the sons and daughters of this Commonwealth that was carved out of the wilderness ever have been an important and often a deciding factor in the struggles of the United States to maintain its independence and nurture its democratic institutions; and

"Whereas there has been no more appropriate time in the entire history of the Nation for emphasizing to all America the pioneer sacrifices made and the signal courage exhibited by Kentuckians to help establish, promote, and protect the independence and democracy of the United States; and

"Whereas this year, in which the United States is engaged on a world-wide scale in a war to preserve its cherished institutions against the arms of dictatorial powers seeking to destroy her independence, marks the sesquicentennial of Kentucky's admission to statehood; and

"Whereas the General Assembly of Kentucky has appointed a commission to fittingly celebrate and commemorate the State's one hundred and fiftieth birthday and memorialize the valiant deeds of her heroes and heroines of pioneer days, which are an inspiration today to patriotic service and devotion; and

"Whereas the Government of the United States thus far has given no formal recognition of this momentous and colorful event in Kentucky's glorious history: Therefore be it

*"Resolved by the Senate of the Commonwealth of Kentucky (the House of Representatives concurring), That the Congress of the United States be memorialized to pass an act directing that an issue of half dollars, especially commemorative of the sesquicentennial of Kentucky statehood, be struck by the United States Mint this year and the President of the United States be respectfully urged to approve the said act."*

By Mr. CAPPER:

A letter signed by Rev. O. M. Showalter, pastor of the State Avenue Baptist Church, of Kansas City, Kans., embodying a resolution adopted by a State-wide meeting of Kansas Baptist ministers at Topeka, Kans., on February 13, 1942, protesting against the enactment of legislation to establish lotteries as a means of increasing the revenue of the Government; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. TYDINGS:

A petition of sundry citizens of the State of Maryland, praying for the enactment of the bill (S. 860) to provide for the common defense in relation to the sale of alcoholic liquors to the members of the land and naval forces of the United States and to provide for the suppression of vice in the vicinity of military camps and naval establishments; ordered to lie on the table.

By Mr. GREEN:

A joint resolution of the Legislature of the State of Rhode Island; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

"Whereas there is now in existence, as a select and special committee of the Congress of the United States a special committee to investigate un-American activities, popularly known as the Dies committee; and

"Whereas the continuation of said Dies committee is now a matter for serious consideration by Congress, in that the value of its services must be appraised in the light of present-day circumstances and the entrance of the United States of America into world war: Now, therefore, be it

*"Resolved, That, with full recognition of the sincere and honest effort which the members of the Dies committee have given to the extremely essential need for investigation of plans, programs, and activities of all anti-American forces, this general assembly now commends said committee for its achievement and findings in this special congressional committee to investigate un-American activities by providing such appropriate funds to further this work that the solidarity of our Nation may be preserved from the enemy within as well as on our far-flung battle lines; and be it further*

*"Resolved, That the secretary of state be authorized to transmit duly certified copies of this resolution to the Senators and Representatives from Rhode Island in the Congress of the United States and to the chairman of the special congressional committee to investigate un-American activities."*

**PRODUCTION OF INDUSTRIAL AND SYNTHETIC ALCOHOL AND SYNTHETIC RUBBER—REPORT OF A COMMITTEE DURING RECESS**

Under authority of the order of the 19th instant,

Mr. GILLETTE, from the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, to which was referred the resolution (S. Res. 224) for an investigation relative to the production of industrial alcohol, synthetic alcohol, and synthetic rubber (submitted by Mr. GILLETTE on February 17, 1942), reported it on February 20, 1942, with an amendment and submitted a report (No. 1112) thereon, and, under the rule, the resolution was referred to the

Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate.

Mr. GILLETTE. Mr. President, in the closing moments of the session of the Senate on Friday last, the eminent senior Senator from Nebraska [Mr. NORRIS] obtained unanimous consent that during the contemplated recess of the Senate the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry be permitted to report Senate Resolution 224, relating to the production of industrial and synthetic alcohol and synthetic rubber, and that the Secretary of the Senate should then automatically refer the resolution to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate.

I announce that, in compliance with that authority, the report of the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry was filed on Friday morning, and the Secretary of the Senate has referred it to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate. The eminent chairman of that committee is not present, but an equally eminent and able member of the committee, the Senator from Maryland [Mr. TYDINGS] is present; and on behalf of the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry I express the hope that the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate will act at the earliest possible moment in submitting its report to the Senate.

**REPORTS OF COMMITTEES**

The following reports of committees were submitted:

By Mr. McKELLAR, from the Committee on Appropriations:

H. R. 6611. A bill making additional appropriations for the national defense for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1942, and for other purposes; with amendments (Rept. No. 1113).

By Mr. McCARRAN:

From the Committee on the Judiciary:  
H. R. 5880. A bill to abolish certain fees charged by clerks of the district courts; and to exempt defendants in condemnation proceedings from the payment of filing fees in certain instances; without amendment (Rept. No. 1114).

From the Committee on the District of Columbia:

H. R. 5075. A bill to create a Recreation Board for the District of Columbia, to define its duties, and for other purposes; with an amendment (Rept. No. 1115); and

H. R. 5784. A bill to consolidate the police and municipal courts of the District of Columbia, and for other purposes; with amendments (Rept. No. 1116).

By Mr. RADCLIFFE, from the Committee on Commerce:

H. R. 6291. A bill to amend the Merchant Marine Act, 1936, as amended, to provide for the coordination of the forwarding and similar servicing of water-borne export and import foreign commerce of the United States; with amendments (Rept. No. 1117);

H. R. 6550. A bill to extend and amend subtitle "Insurance," of title II of the Merchant Marine Act, 1936, as amended (Public, No. 677, 76th Cong.), approved June 29, 1940, and for other purposes; with an amendment (Rept. No. 1118);

H. J. Res. 260. A joint resolution to authorize the United States Maritime Commission to acquire certain lands in Nassau County, N. Y.; without amendment (Rept. No. 1120); and

H. J. Res. 231. A joint resolution to approve and authorize the continuance of cer-



tain payments for the hospitalization and care of Leo Mulvey, and for other purposes; without amendment (Rept. No. 1119).

By Mr. BROWN, from the Committee on Commerce:

S. 1971. A bill to legalize a bridge across Bayou Lafourche at Valentine, La.; without amendment (Rept. No. 1121);

S. 2133. A bill to revive and reenact the act entitled "An act granting the consent of Congress to the State of Michigan to construct, maintain, and operate a toll bridge or series of bridges, causeways, and approaches thereto, across the Straits of Mackinac at or near a point between St. Ignace, Mich., and the Lower Peninsula of Michigan," approved September 25, 1940; with amendments (Rept. No. 1123);

S. 2134. A bill to revive and reenact the act entitled "An act authorizing the State of Michigan, acting through the International Bridge Authority of Michigan, to construct, maintain, and operate a toll bridge or series of bridges, causeways, and approaches thereto, across the St. Marys River, from a point in or near the city of Sault Ste. Marie, Mich., to a point in the Province of Ontario, Canada," approved December 16, 1940; with amendments (Rept. No. 1124);

H. R. 6072. A bill authorizing the States of Arizona and California, jointly or separately, to construct, maintain, and operate a free highway bridge across the Colorado River at or near Needles, Calif.; without amendment (Rept. No. 1122); and

H. J. Res. 176. A joint resolution granting the consent of Congress to an agreement amending the original agreement entered into by the States of New York and Vermont relating to the creation of the Lake Champlain Bridge Commission; with amendments (Rept. No. 1125).

By Mr. BAILEY, from the Committee on Commerce:

S. J. Res. 130. A joint resolution to extend and amend certain emergency laws relating to the merchant marine, and for other purposes; with amendments (Rept. No. 1126).

By Mr. O'MAHONEY, from the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys:

H. R. 2300. A bill to correct the description of land added to the Bryce Canyon National Park pursuant to the act of February 17, 1931; without amendment (Rept. No. 1127);

H. R. 2302. A bill to adjust the boundaries of the Cedar Breaks National Monument and the Dixie National Forest, in the State of Utah, and for other purposes; without amendment (Rept. No. 1128);

E. R. 3014. A bill to accept the cession by the State of Michigan of exclusive jurisdiction over the lands embraced within the Isle Royale National Park, and for other purposes; without amendment (Rept. No. 1129);

H. R. 4386. A bill to provide for the addition of certain lands to the Isle Royale National Park, in the State of Michigan, and for other purposes; without amendment (Rept. No. 1130);

H. R. 5413. A bill to validate settlement claims established on sections 16 and 36 within the area withdrawn for the Matanuska Settlement project in Alaska, and for other purposes; without amendment (Rept. No. 1131); and

H. R. 6332. A bill to revise the boundaries of the Chickamauga-Chattanooga National Military Park in the States of Georgia and Tennessee; without amendment (Rept. No. 1132).

#### ENROLLED JOINT RESOLUTION PRESENTED

Mrs. CARAWAY, from the Committee on Enrolled Bills, reported that on February 19, 1942, that committee presented to the President of the United States the enrolled joint resolution (S. J. Res. 133)

amending section 7 of the Neutrality Act of 1939.

#### BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS INTRODUCED

Bills and joint resolutions were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. McNARY:

S. 2294. A bill to amend certain provisions of the Internal Revenue Code relating to the production of alcohol; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. McKELLAR:

S. 2295. A bill to provide for the termination of the National Youth Administration and the Civilian Conservation Corps; and

S. 2296. A bill to avoid unnecessary appropriations, to eliminate wasteful expenditures, to prevent duplication of functions, and to provide for efficiency in the making and execution of plans by consolidating and coordinating various activities of the United States relating to housing, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. GUFFEY:

S. 2297. A bill to clear the title of certain properties now in liquidation in Philadelphia, Pa.; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. BUTLER:

S. 2298. A bill to grant pensions to certain World War veterans 64 years of age or over; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. REYNOLDS:

S. 2299. A bill to authorize the Director of the Census to issue certifications of birth records; to the Committee on Military Affairs. (Mr. TYDINGS introduced Senate bill 2300, which was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs, and appears under a separate heading.)

(Mr. CLARK of Missouri introduced Senate bill 2301, which was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs, and appears under a separate heading.)

By Mr. O'MAHONEY (for Mr. HATCH):

S. 2302. A bill to grant a preference right to certain oil and gas lessees; to the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys.

By Mr. O'MAHONEY (for himself, Mr. BONE, and Mr. LA FOLLETTE):

S. 2303. A bill to provide for the use of patents in the interest of national defense or the prosecution of war, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Patents.

By Mr. REYNOLDS:

S. J. Res. 135. Joint resolution providing additional facilities for the national defense, for improving the transportation system of the United States, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads.

By Mr. TAFT:

S. J. Res. 136. Joint resolution recognizing the invalidity of Executive Orders 9001 and 9023, dated December 18, 1941, and January 16, 1942, respectively; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

#### TRANSFER TO WAR DEPARTMENT OF OFFICE OF CIVILIAN DEFENSE

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to introduce a bill to abolish the Office of Civilian Defense and to provide for the transfer of its functions to the War Department. If I may say so, the prompting force back of this bill is, it seems to me, that we are but duplicating the experience which has already been had in Great Britain, where such an agency was first set up under civilians, but time and circumstance demonstrated that it could best be operated in the interest of the public by having at its head a member of the War Department. I in-

troduce this bill not intending criticism of any person in the Office of Civilian Defense but because I believe that circumstances will soon show that we must adopt this plan.

I hope the Committee on Military Affairs will view it with favor and report it to the Senate so that all the volunteers of this country who are giving of their time and effort without any thought of compensation may have what I believe the overwhelming majority of them want to have—an Office of Civilian Defense devoted primarily to that objective and in charge of a trained experienced man who knows how to give the people what they want to have in the way of protection.

There being no objection, the bill (S. 2300) to abolish the Office of Civilian Defense and to provide for the transfer of its functions to the War Department was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

#### TRANSFER TO WAR DEPARTMENT OF OFFICE OF CIVILIAN DEFENSE

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to introduce a bill to abolish the Office of Civilian Defense and to authorize the Secretary of War to provide for the physical defense of the civilian population of the United States.

I should like to say, in connection with the introduction of the bill, Mr. President, that I have not had the opportunity as yet of examining the bill introduced by the Senator from Maryland [Mr. TYDINGS] a few moments ago, and, in fact, I did not know he intended to introduce such a bill until my bill had already been prepared. It may be that his bill attains the objectives I have in mind.

If the Senate will indulge me for a moment, I should like to say that I want it particularly understood that the introduction of this bill is not intended to be, and should not be considered to be, a reflection on anybody, either the former heads of the Office of Civilian Defense or the new head who has recently assumed the position. I purposely refrained from introducing the bill which I thought was necessary and desirable until any element of controversy in connection with the Office of Civilian Defense had been dissipated. Certainly I intend no reflection upon the President of the United States, who set up the Office of Civilian Defense by Executive order. That was an entirely proper procedure for him at that time, just as it was for him to set up the Price Fixing Administration by Executive order. Later it was found in that case necessary to have its power clarified and confirmed by Congress. That is what the bill I now introduce is intended to do in the case of the Office of Civilian Defense.

It seems to me, Mr. President, that the physical protection of the civilian population of the United States from air raids or parachute troops or any kind of raid is a matter which is so immediately and closely identified with the business of military defense that it should be under the War Department, because, to a very large extent, it partakes of a military nature.

I have provided in the bill, Mr. President, that the Administrator of the Office of Civilian Defense shall be a general officer of the Army or the Marine Corps or a flag officer of the Navy on either the active or the retired list, or else a former general officer of the Army or Marine Corps or of the National Guard or the Reserves, or a former flag officer of the Navy. That has nothing whatever to do with the other activities of the Office of Civilian Defense which have been a matter of much controversy. If the President desires that they be continued he can continue the other activities by an Executive order in some other agency where they will not complicate the vitally necessary defense of the civilian population against air raids, parachute attacks, or other attacks. The bill simply transfers to the War Department, where it seems to me they ought to be, those activities so intimately connected with the defense of the United States that they form a part of the defense system. It seems to me that a civilian agency or a civilian bureau has no more business prescribing and regulating such matters than it would have to regulate the disposition of troops or the dispatch of naval vessels.

Furthermore, I have included another provision which seems to be one of obvious advantage to the country at this time, that is, to authorize, and, in fact, to recommend, that the Secretary of War in setting up this agency shall avail himself of the services, either individually or as organizations, of the great organizations of ex-service men in this country, such as the American Legion, the Veterans of Foreign Wars, the Disabled Veterans, the Spanish American War veterans, and any other veterans' organization composed of men who have served in various wars of this country. It seems to me perfectly obvious that these men, all of whom have had military or naval training, most of whom have passed the age for active service in this war, by their experience, and by their membership in organizations which inculcate the spirit of discipline and military organization, are inevitably calculated to form a very splendid nucleus of the organization which is provided for by the bill. I hope the Committee on Military Affairs will give these suggestions the fullest consideration. In this connection, I have no idea of excluding from the fullest participation in these activities the great multitude of patriotic men and women who do not belong to these organizations. I merely suggest these organizations are a ready-made nucleus of proven patriotism and military efficiency.

I have included retired general officers and former general officers as eligible for this administratorship. Many of these officers are in excellent physical shape of such ability and experience as to peculiarly fit them for this type of duty. I have in mind, for instance, one of the most distinguished and able of all our former Chiefs of Staff, at least one retired lieutenant general and several retired major generals of marines and several very excellent former division commanders of the National Guard, who have been forced out of command in pursuance of the Regular Army scheme for

replacing National Guard officers with Regulars.

There being no objection, the bill (S. 2301) to abolish the Office of Civilian Defense and to authorize the Secretary of War to provide for the physical defense of the civilian population of the United States, was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

#### NOTICE OF MOTION TO SUSPEND THE RULE—AMENDMENT

Mr. McKELLAR submitted the following notice in writing:

In accordance with rule XL of the Standing Rules of the Senate, I hereby give notice in writing that it is my intention to move to suspend paragraph 4 of rule XVI for the purpose of proposing to the bill (H. R. 6611) making additional appropriations for the national defense for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1942, and for other purposes, the following amendment, namely:

On page 10, after line 24, insert a new section reading as follows:

"Sec. 403. Limitations on appropriations heretofore enacted and available for obligation during the fiscal years 1942 and 1943, which prohibit the use of such appropriations and other funds for the employment in the service of the District of Columbia and the United States (including any agency a majority of the stock of which is owned by the Government of the United States) of persons who are not citizens of the United States or who have not filed declarations of intention to become such, shall not apply hereafter to citizens of the Commonwealth of the Philippines."

Mr. McKELLAR also submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to House bill 6611, making additional appropriations for the national defense, fiscal year 1942, which was ordered to lie on the table and to be printed.

(For text of amendment referred to, see the foregoing notice.)

#### NOTICE OF MOTION TO SUSPEND THE RULE—AMENDMENT

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. Mr. President, House bill 6611 has been reported to the Senate today. It is the large defense appropriation bill. The committee authorized the senior Senator from Alabama [Mr. BANKHEAD] to offer an amendment on the floor tomorrow. The amendment may be construed to be legislation, in which event a notice in writing of a motion to suspend paragraph 4 of rule XVI will be necessary. I want the RECORD to show that I am now making the request that during the course of today such a notice in writing and the text of the proposed amendment may be filed.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Oklahoma? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma (for Mr. BANKHEAD) subsequently submitted the following notice in writing:

In accordance with rule XL of the Standing Rules of the Senate, I hereby give notice in writing that it is my intention to move to suspend paragraph 4 of rule XVI for the purpose of proposing to the bill (H. R. 6611) making additional appropriations for the national defense for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1942, and for other purposes, the following amendment, namely:

At the proper place in the bill to insert a new section, as follows:

"Sec. 404. All agricultural commodities and all products processed from such commodities authorized to be purchased and secured with funds appropriated and made available by this act shall be purchased in the open market as now provided by law."

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma (for Mr. BANKHEAD) also submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to House bill 6611, making additional appropriations for the national defense, fiscal year 1942, which was ordered to lie on the table and to be printed.

(For text of amendment referred to, see the foregoing notice.)

#### AMENDMENT TO FIFTH SUPPLEMENTAL DEFENSE APPROPRIATION BILL

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill (H. R. 6611) making additional appropriations for the national defense for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1942, and for other purposes, which was ordered to lie on the table and to be printed.

#### GENERAL LEAR AND THE THIRTY-FIFTH DIVISION—EDITORIAL FROM KANSAS CITY JOURNAL

Mr. TRUMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD at this point as a part of my remarks an editorial from the Kansas City Journal, entitled "An Inconsistent General." The writer of the editorial spends some time in taking Lt. Gen. Ben Lear apart for his attitude toward the Thirty-fifth Division.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Kansas City (Mo.) Journal of February 20, 1942]

#### AN INCONSISTENT GENERAL

Lt. Gen. Ben Lear, commanding general of the Second Army, discussed the Thirty-fifth Division in a folksy manner in a Kansas City address last night. He said it is Kansas City's home-town division and that it was natural that he should give a brief report on our division.

"I am happy," he said, "that it can be a highly favorable report."

General Lear went on to explain that when the division was mobilized more than a year ago it included many inexperienced troops, a condition which made basic elementary training necessary in all units.

General Lear seems to have been pleased by the results of the training period. He said:

"Your Thirty-fifth Division developed speedily and well, did a fine job during our 2 months of maneuvers last fall, and at their last inspection we were convinced that wherever they go and whatever they are called upon to do, the Second Army and all of you on the home front will have ample reason for pride in their accomplishments."

He continued:

"Officers and men alike will go into battle better trained and more effectively equipped than their predecessors in the last World War. They will suffer losses that are inevitable in battle, but they should suffer fewer losses than would reflect insufficient training and insufficient discipline."

Very good for the Thirty-fifth Division. But what of General Lear?

In this period of successful training, in which the Thirty-fifth was raised from an outfit of recruits to a well-disciplined fighting



machine, its commanding officer was Maj. Gen. Ralph E. Truman, formerly of the Missouri National Guard. After the maneuvers, in which General Lear says, the Thirty-fifth did a fine job, he relieved General Truman of his command in a humiliating fashion. General Truman is now on inactive duty.

We do not doubt that everything General Lear says about the Thirty-fifth is true, but for the sake of elementary consistency he should let the praises be said by somebody else. He stands convicted of removing a commander who transformed an untrained division into a unit which, according to General Lear himself, is better trained and equipped than the original Thirty-fifth, which was chosen by General Pershing for the difficult and costly task of opening the initial phases of the Meuse-Argonne offensive in 1918.

It doesn't make sense—certainly not the kind of sense necessary to win this war

#### NEED FOR PLANES IN THE FAR EAST— ARTICLE BY MARTIN AGRONSKY

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Mr. President, I desire to have printed in the body of the RECORD, as a part of my remarks, a very interesting, amazing, and, I think, shocking account of the conduct of affairs in the Far East, written by Mr. Martin Agronsky, who is a correspondent of the National Broadcasting Co. The article appears in the Times-Herald of this morning, and I hope that all members of the subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Appropriations which has charge of the naval appropriations, and from which have been reported the bills calling for the appropriation of billions upon billions of dollars for the Navy, will read this article. I likewise hope every member of the Committee on Naval Affairs will read it.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the article will be printed in the RECORD.

The article is as follows:

[From the Washington Times-Herald of February 23, 1942]

#### ONE THOUSAND FIVE HUNDRED PLANES NEEDED AT ONCE TO SAVE JAVA, BROADCAST SAYS— OUTNUMBERED 15 TO 1, ALLIES FIGHT LOSING BATTLE, SYDNEY REPORT WARNS

(Through lack of foresight a bungling British high command which turned away shiploads of planes which vainly endeavored to land and fight at Singapore; because of American warships equipped with faulty ammunition, the Allied Nations are in a fair way to lose the entire Far East, Martin Agronsky, National Broadcasting Co. correspondent, warned this country in a Nation-wide broadcast from Sydney, Australia. Only the immediate arrival of a thousand American fighter planes and pilots and 500 American bombing planes and pilots can save the day in Java and elsewhere, he said.)

(By Martin Agronsky)

I arrived here today from the Dutch East Indies, after a flight in a Dutch bomber, with a Jap air patrol over Java in the Indian Ocean in the air behind me.

The Japs, with the capture of Singapore, already had accomplished the first phase of their drive for empire in the Far East. The day I left Java they had successfully attacked and captured Palembang in South Sumatra.

As I flew over the Indian Ocean toward Australia the Japs made an attack on Bali, just over Java's southernmost tip. The outcome of the Allied defense of Bali is not yet completely known. It would take an incurable optimist to doubt the ultimate result. The Allied defenses there, as throughout the far eastern theater of war, are pitifully weak.

With Bali in Japanese possession Java will

sit in a dangerous sandwich. From Sumatra across the narrow Sunda Straits to the north and Bali to the south; from Borneo and Celebes to the east the Japs will be able to throw dangerously powerful forces at the Allied defenders of Java.

The attack on Java already begun from the air is what can be described as the second phase of Japan's Asian offensive. That is the capture of the Netherlands East Indies.

#### FLYERS OUTNUMBERED

You must realize at home exactly what your sons and husbands are fighting against in this part of the world. You must know that every time an American pilot takes off to meet the Japs, he knows before his machine leaves the ground that if he is lucky he will be outnumbered by at least five to one.

If he runs into the usual Jap attacking formation, the odds against him will be 15 to 1.

You must know that when land fighting starts in Java the odds will be equally great; that in the seas throughout this entire area the sailors of the American and Allied forces today have to face equally overwhelming odds.

If 1,000 American fighter pilots and machines and another 500 bomber pilots and machines were to arrive today, the Allies would have a good chance of holding Java.

Java today means two things to the Allies. First, with the exception of Burma, where the Allied forces are steadily being pushed back, it provides the only land base from which aerial offensive operations can be undertaken on a large scale against the Jap land, sea, and air forces in this part of the world.

If the Allied forces are pushed back to Australia, we will be forced almost completely on the defensive.

#### ONLY DEFENSIVE BASE

Second, it provides the only defensive base from which the Allies can threaten or hamper the Japanese concentration of all available forces in the southwestern Pacific for an attack on Australia itself.

The fight for Java has begun. If Java falls, the fight for Australia—what must be recognized as the third phase in the Jap drive for empire in Asia—lies in the immediate future.

There is no important speculation as to whether Java will or will not hold for the next couple of weeks. Perhaps even the next few days will decide that.

What is vital is that for once the democratic nations do everything in their power, while there is still time, at least to create forces that will have a fighting chance.

In Malaya, the British were not only outnumbered but outsmarted and outgeneraled. Even admitting the original underestimation of the Japs' strength put the British forces at a vital disadvantage, it still remains true that from the first days of the campaign the Japs gained nearly as much from enemy bungling as through their own well-executed attack.

Time and again in the course of the British retreat, lack of organization gave the Japs air fields, petrol stores, and ammunition depots intact.

When I left Singapore it was on board an Australian warship. On the docks of the naval base thousands of pounds worth of war material lay unprotected, undispersed, a perfect target for the Jap bombers.

Out in the Indian Ocean our warship picked up a large convoy that for weeks had been on the high seas en route to Singapore from England. On board one ship were a large number of Royal Air Force ground personnel accompanied by a large number of fighter pilots, veterans of the battle of Britain.

#### SHIP CARRIED PLANES

In another ship were the crated planes that the pilots were to fly. Warships took the convoy southward through the Straits of

Sumatra and into Singapore in the face of continued Jap bombing attacks.

Three days later, in Java, I met one of the pilots. From him I learned that due to some fatal blunder the ship's destination had been mistaken.

On the way out from England, the pilot told me, the men on board voluntarily organized their unit so that they would be ready to go into action immediately when they landed. They had a detailed map of Singapore Island. Realizing that the airdromes might be unusable, they had laid out on their maps streets from which they could take off with fighters. They had drilled on board ship until they were letter-perfect in the use of the Beaufort planes and the guns they carried.

Every detail of assembly of the crated planes had been worked out beforehand. They believed they could have their planes in the air and functioning within 24 hours of landing.

When these men arrived in Singapore they found that no one at the docks even knew they were expected.

#### SENT TO JAVA

After much searching they reached a Royal Air Force headquarters officer and asked that they be allowed to go into action. Instead they were informed that they were not expected in Singapore, that they could not operate there, but would have to go to Java and receive instructions from the high command.

All of this time their ship was being heavily bombed at the dock. They finally got back to Java.

The pilot officer ended this story with the laconic remarks, "It did not improve the morale."

And on the American side there is an equally pretty story. A few minutes after my plane landed at a small town an American naval plane came in; an American naval lieutenant and a general were in the plane.

The pilot told me he had flown to shore from an American warship which I cannot name. The warship was conveying American troops to somewhere in Java. When the convoy was 6 hours at sea the warship picked up a Jap broadcast from Tokyo accurately describing both the make-up of the convoy and its destination.

Two hours later 32 Jap bombers appeared overhead and bombed the convoy. The Japs hit one of the gun turrets of the warship. A 20-year-old machinist's mate went into the gun turret, which was stacked with shells and filled with flames from burning powder bags. The shells were red hot and could have exploded at any moment.

The young machinist's mate played water on the red-hot shell cases until the fire was out.

#### HARD TO HIT JAPS

Being an American, I was proud of this story of courage. I told the lieutenant so and asked him if he had shot up any of these Japs. He answered it was pretty hard to hit the Japs with the ammunition on board.

I asked why. He explained that the anti-aircraft ammunition was 1930 and 1931 issue; that when it had been tested a year ago it was found to be only 30 percent effective.

The lieutenant told me it was impossible to range with this type of ammunition, as the bursts were too ununiform to enable the gunners to work out a fire pattern.

The lieutenant added he would like to have been able to tie to the forecast of that warship the gentleman responsible for the United States warship being equipped with this type of ammunition.

He made me promise to tell this story to you people at home. If we hope to stop the Japs, the United States will have to do better than this.

The men fighting in the far-eastern countries for their defense and ultimately for the

defense of the United States deserve better of their country than they are getting.

On an isolated airfield in the Far East I found a young American pilot in charge. He was a fighter pilot. He had been grounded following a crash. One finger of his right hand was paralyzed. Because it got in his way he was no longer permitted to fly.

He told me that he would not be on the ground much longer, as he had arranged to have the finger amputated so that he could take a new medical examination and he was sure he could pass.

And against this spirit should be put the pronouncement of various American spokesmen that it would be best to keep the majority of the American forces at home to defend America.

Almost every American soldier with whom I have spoken in the Far Eastern theater of war has begged me to try and fight this kind of short-sighted view.

#### ODDS LONG AGAINST THEM

It is the sincere belief of every American observer in this part of the world that first Singapore, then Java, and last Australia are the outer defenses of California.

They feel equally that if we reinforce the Allied power immediately we would have a fighting chance to stop the Japs in Australia, even if Java falls.

No matter what courage the Allies possess, they cannot stop the Japs with 10- and 15-to-1 odds against them.

Just before I left Java I interviewed a Dutch officer. "It can scarcely be repeated too often," he said, "that when a country is thrown on the defensive as regards to shore line the eventual function of the fleet is to take the offensive."

If you do not recognize that quotation that the Dutchman had framed, I will tell you who wrote it—Admiral Mahan, United States naval strategist.

#### GEN. DOUGLAS MACARTHUR

Mr. DAVIS. Mr. President, Washington crossing the Delaware is a picture known to every man, woman, and child in the United States. The heroism, devotion, and courage of that memorable day have inspired our people to valiant action in countless ways, and still live on.

Perhaps the surest proof that the American spirit, the Washington spirit, lives on is found in the amazing stand taken by Gen. Douglas MacArthur. Our country is supremely proud of him. He has once again given us the spirit of victory.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have included in the RECORD as a portion of my remarks the article by John White in the Times-Herald of Washington, D. C., February 23, 1942.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Times-Herald of February 23, 1942]

MACARTHUR HAILED AS "NAPOLEON OF LUZON"—  
HIS DEFENSE OF PHILIPPINES AMAZES THE  
ARMY AND THE WORLD

(By John White)

Today is the seventy-eighth day of the defense of the Philippines; the seventy-eighth day of one man's defiance of an empire.

Without Douglas MacArthur the islands would long ago have fallen to the Japanese. Military experts, ever since the Spanish-American War, have stated that if (when) the Japs attacked, the Philippines could only resist for 6 weeks, at most—unless help in large quantities came.

Somehow, MacArthur has held. Without help. The Filipinos have named him "The Napoleon of Luzon."

Six weeks after Pearl Harbor, January 18, MacArthur was still on his feet; still slugging. The War Department communique for that day said:

"Enemy pressure on American and Philippine positions in the Bataan Peninsula has lessened. Repeated enemy thrusts have been parried."

#### FIGHTING IN TWELFTH WEEK

Yesterday was the end of 11 weeks of fighting. Still MacArthur was swinging away. The Japs had attacked him ceaselessly, always 10 (or more) men to 1. They had used special beach-landing equipment, special V-shaped tanks—to deflect bullets—special fire-bombs, special fifth-column work, special everything.

But they hadn't licked MacArthur. He was right up in front.

The War Department communique said he was sending in reports praising the loyalty of the Filipinos. "Civilian resistance is growing in intensity and is becoming increasingly effective."

#### MACARTHUR STILL THERE

MacArthur was, like Francis Scott Key's flag, still there. And the islands were with him.

Why was this?

America is supremely proud of Gen. Douglas MacArthur today; in the midst of bad news from everywhere but Russia, his gallant stand continually reminds us of our heroic past, and the heroism we are capable of now.

Why is it that MacArthur can do this? Why is MacArthur so successful? In short, why is MacArthur?

There has been much written about this 62-year-old hero of two wars, youngest man ever to be appointed United States Army Chief of Staff, only man ever to hold that position more than one term.

There will be a great deal more written about him.

For Gen. Douglas MacArthur is on the highroad toward fame as lasting as that of his immortal predecessor King Arthur of the Round Table.

The Philippine Islands have known Douglas MacArthur as "the Napoleon of Luzon." Some people mocked at his large ideas, especially those people who thought the Japanese would never attack; but most people, including most Filipinos, admired his vision and liked the way he got things done.

#### NEVER A RETIRING MAN

With practically no money from Congress or the Philippine government, he worked like a dog to build Philippine defenses.

Not like a frightened dog, mind you.

Douglas MacArthur, son of Arthur MacArthur, lieutenant general, United States Army, grandson of Arthur MacArthur (associate justice, District of Columbia Supreme Court), great-grandson of Arthur MacArthur (of Glasgow, Scotland), has never been a retiring man.

Even when he retired from the Army in 1937 he retired in a notable manner on the last day of the year. Much was written then about his achievements, and he proceeded to add to his reputation with occasional thunderings from the Philippines, where he remained as field marshal of the Philippine Army.

He has always been a man with a flare. What is called colorful.

He acts quickly, with decision, with finesse. He speaks in strong language; he has an extraordinary knack of phrase making.

Reminiscent of the great Napoleon is his manner of addressing his soldiers.

The islands call it "MacArthurian style."

"Only those who are willing to die are fit to live," he once quoted. Anybody will agree

to that sentiment. Many of us have said the same thing. But not in quite that arresting fashion.

#### "LET'S KEEP FLAG FLYING"

"Let's keep the flag flying," the order, or suggestion, he recently gave when his men remarked that the flag over his Bataan headquarters might attract enemy fire, hit America squarely in the eye.

He is a showman.

Some Army men, many of whom it must be confessed have not liked MacArthur in the years since he left West Point and began his headlong rush to the top, have often mumbled that the field marshal of the Philippines, the personal outpost of America in the Pacific, takes the spotlight more than is necessary.

They have complained that he creates situations so that he may play the big part, that he overglorifies routine deeds.

Too much of a showman, they said.

But they will also admit that his record in World War No. 1 was brilliant, that his objectives since 1919 have been correct, that his conduct of his forces since Pearl Harbor has been the most skillful maneuvering since the days of Ulysses Grant.

(Ulysses Grant's grandson, by the way, graduated second to MacArthur in the 1903 class at West Point.)

And they will also admit—gladly—that the MacArthurian style is invaluable now.

It's the kind of thing that makes men fight when the battle seems lost before it's begun, the kind of thing that makes whole countries rise. The kind of thing that might have saved France from an ignoble collapse, if not from ultimate defeat.

#### CREATES NEW LEGEND

Rapidly this Napoleon of Luzon is creating about himself and his heroic handful of American and Philippine warriors a twentieth century legend—the MacArthurian Legend.

Just as the tales of Arthur and his Knights of the Round Table fired men's spirits in the days of pomp, dragons, and chivalry, so do the unfolding chapters of the Book of Bataan, now being written in blood 7,000 miles away, stir America.

"Our P-40 is full of holes, send us another," MacArthur's men wired recently.

Nothing heroic in the sound of that, until you realize that those men had waited patient weeks for planes with which to fight the constant Japanese bombings with even 1-to-10 odds.

#### GIVES SIMPLE "THANKS"

Three days ago MacArthur replied to a cordial greeting sent by 60,000 arsenal employees of the Ordnance Department with the one word:

"Thanks."

America understands that sort of talk.

Just as it understood the feeling of MacArthur and his men when he sent the President a birthday message (4 days after his own sixty-second birthday):

"Today, January 30, the anniversary of your birth, smoke-begrimed men, covered with the marks of battle, rise from the fox holes of Bataan and the batteries of Corregidor to pray reverently that God may bless immeasurably the President of the United States."

#### SILENCE ANSWERS LEAFLETS

Just as it understands why he replied with silence (broken by the rattle of machine guns) when the Japanese on January 10 dropped leaflets over his lines:

"You are well aware that you are doomed. The end is near—your prestige and honor have been upheld—in order to avoid needless bloodshed, surrender."

The Filipinos, too, understand MacArthur's kind of talk, and his kind of action. That's why they responded with "much mirth" to the message sent them by Japan: "You are



cornered to the doom—blinded General MacArthur has stupidly refused our proposal and continues futile struggle at the cost of your precious lives—dear Filipino soldiers—sur-render at once."

The United States is now buzzing with "MacArthur for President." Filipinos want him to be President of the Islands.

The MacArthurian legend, the Saga of One Man Against an Empire, is unfolding before our eyes.

MacArthur in all his 62 years has lost only one battle, the fight with Congress to arm the country. Though he seems now "cornered to the doom," he may win the Battle of Bataan. If he does \* \* \*.

#### FINANCIAL PROBLEM IN THE WAR CRISIS—ADDRESS BY JOHN W. HANES

[Mr. BYRD asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an address on the financial problem in the war crisis delivered by John W. Hanes, formerly Under Secretary of the Treasury, at the Town Hall meeting of the air on February 12, which appears in the Appendix.]

#### DECORATION OF MEN IN THE ARMED FORCES

[Mr. CAPPEL asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD a statement by Angelo Scott, editor of the *Iola (Kans.) Register*, relative to a roll of honor, which appears in the Appendix.]

#### PREPAREDNESS FOR WAR—EDITORIALS FROM OMAHA EVENING WORLD AND SIDNEY TELEGRAPH NEWS

[Mr. BUTLER asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an editorial from the *Evening World Herald*, of Omaha, Nebr., and one from the *Telegraph News*, of Sidney, Nebr., relating to preparedness, which appear in the Appendix.]

#### PRICES OF FARM PRODUCTS—EDITORIAL BY W. A. MACPHERSON

[Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an editorial by W. A. Macpherson, published in the *Lamar (Colo.) News*, concerning the so-called O'Mahoney amendment to the Price Control Act, which appears in the Appendix.]

#### MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE—ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Swanson, one of its clerks, announced that the Speaker had affixed his signature to the following enrolled bills, and they were signed by the Vice President:

H. R. 268. An act for the relief of James Wood;

H. R. 793. An act for the relief of the estate of Charles D. Talbert, deceased;

H. R. 2183. An act for the relief of Hiram O. Lester, Grace D. Lester, and Florence E. Dawson;

H. R. 2712. An act for the relief of the Branchland Pipe & Supply Co.;

H. R. 2780. An act for the relief of O. C. Ousley;

H. R. 3141. An act for the relief of Fred Farmer and Doris M. Schroeder;

H. R. 4537. An act for the relief of H. D. Bateman, Henry G. Conner, Jr., executor of the last will and testament of P. L. Woodward, and J. M. Creech; and

H. R. 4622. An act for the relief of Catherine Schultze.

#### DISPOSITION OF AGRICULTURAL COMMODITIES BY COMMODITY CREDIT CORPORATION

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. GILLETTE in the chair). The Parliamentar-

ian has suggested to the present occupant of the chair that announcement be made that, under a determination reached at the last session, the unfinished business before the Senate is Senate bill 2255, to establish a policy with respect to the disposition of agricultural commodities acquired by the Commodity Credit Corporation. It was also the understanding that the bill should go over, so far as discussion is concerned, until the meeting of the session at noon tomorrow, Tuesday.

#### INFORMATION SERVICES OF THE GOVERNMENT

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, I ask to have printed in the body of the RECORD that portion of an editorial appearing in the *New York News* and the *Washington Times-Herald* which indicates that 2,995 full-time employees and 31,618 part-time employees are now engaged in the so-called information services of the Government at a cost of \$27,000,000 a year. I take the liberty of observing that the chief product of this gargantuan effort seems to be a lack of adequate and conclusive information. A demobilization of a large part of this printer's ink brigade might result, through concentrated effort, in the production of more information at less expense.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Michigan?

There being no objection, the excerpt from the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

This multitude of Government "information services," too (\$27,000,000 a year, 2,995 full-time employees, 31,618 part-time), is building up in many people's minds a suspicion that this administration is putting together a propaganda ministry of the German, or Dr. Paul Goebbels' type, for use both during and after the war. From that suspicion, it is an easy jump to a suspicion that this administration expects to be running some sort of totalitarian government either before or after the end of this war, and is prudently getting ready for same.

#### SENATOR FROM NORTH DAKOTA

Mr. GREEN. Mr. President, as chairman of the Committee on Privileges and Elections, I wish to give notice that at the session next Monday, March 2, I shall move to take up the report of the Committee on Privileges and Elections on the question of seating the junior Senator from North Dakota [Mr. LANGER].

Mr. McNARY. Of course, Mr. President, the Senator may do as he pleases in that regard. I should probably have something to say in opposition. I have been discussing this matter with the able Senator from Illinois [Mr. LUCAS] who is in charge of the case on the floor, as I have been advised, though he is not chairman of the committee. It was agreed in a colloquy had here a few days ago that some time in March this case would be at issue, and would be taken up at a time mutually agreeable.

It will be impossible to take the case up next week without very great inconvenience to the Senator from Oregon, who may be away a portion of the time, and also the Junior Senator from North

Dakota [Mr. LANGER], because he desires to attend at that time a meeting of the Non-Partisan League, of which he is an active and influential member. I assume usual courtesies will be extended to these Senators. I am willing to enter into an agreement—though I should not wish to do so in the absence of the able Senator from Illinois [Mr. LUCAS]—that we might proceed 2 weeks from today, which will be the 9th of March.

In view of the understanding heretofore had, and in consideration of the inconvenience which would be attendant upon proceeding next week, I shall oppose any action that may be taken with regard to setting this case for a week from today.

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President, I inquire of the Senator from Rhode Island whether the minority report has been filed.

Mr. GREEN. So far as I know, no minority report has been filed, although at the time of the filing of the majority report I asked the three members of the committee who did not join in the report whether they wished to file a minority report, and if so, when they would file it. Since then I have heard nothing from them on the subject.

Mr. NORRIS. I should like to suggest to the Senator from Rhode Island that if there is to be a minority report, it seems to me the Senator should not take the matter up until a few days, at least, after the filing of such report. So far as I am concerned, I should like to see the minority report, if there is to be one filed.

Mr. GREEN. It has been weeks since the majority report was filed.

Mr. NORRIS. I realize that.

Mr. GREEN. And I have not been advised that any member of the minority wishes to file a report.

Mr. NORRIS. I have talked with one of the minority members of the committee who said he intended to file a minority report.

Mr. GREEN. Let me add one word. I have given this notice at the request of the Senator from Illinois, to whom reference has been made. Before I was made chairman of the Committee on Privileges and Elections the Senator from Illinois [Mr. LUCAS] and the Senator from Vermont [Mr. AUSTIN] were appointed a subcommittee to have charge of the North Dakota senatorship case on the floor, and it was at the request of the Senator from Illinois that I gave the notice today about bringing the matter up next Monday.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, inasmuch as I have participated in some of the conferences revolving around this matter, I think it should be stated that week before last, as I remember, although I do not recall the date, this matter came up in connection with a suggestion by the Senator from Illinois [Mr. LUCAS] in regard to the filing of a minority report. The Senator from Oregon tentatively stated at that time that the minority report would be filed last Tuesday. When that day arrived the Senator from Oregon [Mr. McNARY] advised me that it would not be filed until

Thursday of last week, but that it would be filed on that day. I had supposed it had been filed. I had not heard anything to the contrary. It seems that it has not yet been filed.

At the time we discussed this matter and it was suggested that the minority report would be filed last Tuesday or last Thursday, March 2 was suggested as the day on which the matter might be taken up for consideration. That is the day on which the Senator from Illinois has been insisting the case should be considered. In the meantime the Senator from Vermont [Mr. AUSTIN] suggested a later date, and I advised him to confer with the Senator from Illinois [Mr. LUCAS], the two of them being members of the subcommittee in charge of the matter. I was informed only this morning, in private conversation, that next Monday would be satisfactory. I received word from the Senator from Illinois, who is unavoidably absent today, that he would like to begin consideration of the matter on March 2, which will be next Monday.

Of course, I am not disposed, so far as I am concerned, to inconvenience anyone. This is a matter of the highest privilege, but if attending a Non-Partisan League convention is a higher privilege than that then the Senate should yield in respect to a matter of that kind. I had been led to believe that a question involving membership in the Senate was of the highest privilege. I certainly should not wish to inconvenience the Senator from Oregon, who, I am sure, desires to be present when the matter is taken up, and who has shown his personal desire to cooperate in having it disposed of.

Personally, I have no objection to the case being taken up the 9th of March, but I have stated all along, in public as well as in private conversations and conferences, that I would be governed by the wishes of the subcommittee in charge of the case. In suggesting the 2d of March I am sure the Senator from Rhode Island thought—and I certainly thought—that that would be agreeable to the Senator from Vermont and the Senator from Illinois. However, in view of the objection, I presume we might leave the matter in abeyance at least until the return of the Senator from Illinois.

Mr. McNARY. Mr. President, according to the RECORD, I stated last week that I thought the report of the minority members of the Committee on Privileges and Elections would be filed on Thursday. I am not a member of the committee; I relied upon what some of the members told me as to the time the minority report might possibly be filed. I am advised that that was not done because the members were not able to agree upon some of the legal phases in connection with the report, and I understand the report has not yet been filed.

It was clearly understood that the issue could not be drawn until both reports were before the Senate and the Members of the Senate for their consideration. I thought the matter was open, and I still believe it to be open, and I insist that it remain open for the present. Of course, it is not very important whether the Senator from North Dakota attends the

Non-Partisan League convention, or whether any Senator should visit any other convention, or make any speech, but we usually accord some courtesy to Members who are absent. That is all I was taking into consideration—the usual courtesy, in a matter like this, of affording opportunity for consultation with others who are interested. I thought it was thoroughly understood that the matter was left open.

I think probably the minority report will be filed during the week—possibly by tomorrow, though I notice the absence of the minority members of the committee. It is certainly fair that the able Senator from North Dakota [Mr. LANGER] should have the minority report presented. I did not observe any very great haste in filing the majority report. Weeks went by before that report was filed. I have no interest in the case one way or the other, other than to see that there shall be fair play, decent treatment, and impartial conduct. Upon that I insist, and I am certain the case may be set to the satisfaction of all.

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President, I think an observation ought to be made in response to that made by the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. BARKLEY] about Senators being absent on important business. In that respect I think we very often go to the extreme. I myself have often been dissatisfied because the Senate has put off taking action with respect to a certain matter simply because some Senator was absent on important business, and I think it is well known that in many such instances the Senators are absent because of engagements to deliver addresses somewhere. We have gone to the extreme in permitting matters to go over in the Senate simply to accommodate Senators for such reasons. It is a common occurrence for a Senator to be absent making a political speech, and the Senate sometimes puts over consideration of a matter in which he is interested until he returns.

I have no interest in the Non-Partisan League, but I presume a meeting of the Non-Partisan League is probably just as important to the Senator from North Dakota as a national convention is to Republican or Democratic Senators, and we adjourn the Senate so Senators may attend those conventions.

Mr. President, I recognize that this is a highly privileged matter, and that the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. GREEN] has a technical right to call it up now if he desires. He is entitled to consideration. I think there has been a great deal of delay in connection with the case. I am anxious that when we do take it up, the issue shall be joined, and that means that, if a minority report is to be filed, it should be filed as promptly as possible, and we should have a reasonable time to consider it. That is all I care for. I understand the minority report has not yet been filed. It should have been filed before this time. So far as I know, ample time within which to file it has elapsed. It seems to me sufficient time has been given for filing that report; but if we are going to be lenient in such instances, and if we can obtain a better understanding of the North Dakota case by having a minority report filed, we should not be-

gin consideration of the case until the minority report is filed.

Mr. GREEN. I wish to speak but a moment. For the information of the Senate, I may say that the majority report was filed January 29. Before that time I communicated with the members who were unwilling to sign the report, and I will state again that I asked them in writing, as well as orally, whether they would like to file a minority report, and if so, by what date, and I have not received any communication from any of them indicating that they wished to file a minority report. It seemed to me, and I think it seems to other members of the committee, that we have waited long enough for a minority report. The minority members have not filed a report. There must be some limit to the time for filing such a report. A month has gone by since the filing of the majority report, and, so far as I know, the minority members have not yet filed a report.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. It is not the Chair's understanding that the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. GREEN] has presented any matter for the consideration of the Senate at this time, but has merely given notice that he will ask leave to do so in the future.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, merely in order to keep the record straight, I wish to refer to a discussion which occurred on the floor of the Senate on February 13, a week from last Friday, in which the Senator from Illinois [Mr. LUCAS], the Senator from Oregon [Mr. McNARY], and I participated. The Senator from Illinois was expressing the hope on that day, as the record shows, that he might take up the case 2 weeks from the following Monday; that is, 2 weeks from last Monday and a week from today. During the colloquy the Senator from Oregon and I said:

Mr. McNARY. Mr. President, I am in accord with the observations of the Senator, and it is my judgment now, from the facts I have in hand, that probably we can form the issues next week and early in March proceed with the consideration of the case on the floor of the Senate.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, if I may inject a remark here, I am glad to learn from the Senator from Oregon [Mr. McNARY], the able and very cooperative minority leader, that minority views may be expected by Tuesday.

That referred to last Tuesday. Of course, the Senator from Oregon was, I realize, more or less speculating as to the date. He could not be assured of it, but when the minority views were not forthcoming on Tuesday we were, as I thought, assured that they would be filed last Thursday. They ought to be filed, of course, before the Senate takes up the case. I think any report should be filed long enough in advance so the Senate may make a study of it before the case is taken up, and I hope that if a minority report is to be filed, it may be filed within the next day or two so we may familiarize ourselves with the issues, and take the case up as soon as possible.

#### CRITICISMS OF LACK OF COAST DEFENSE

Mr. GUFFEY. Mr. President, one day last week when I was absent from the city on official business the senior Senator from California [Mr. JOHNSON] se-



verely criticized the administration for not providing proper defenses on the Pacific coast and at the same time complained of the failure to send relief to General MacArthur and the Philippines. Later that day, during the same debate, the senior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. WALSH], the chairman of the Naval Affairs Committee, complained also about the lack of defense on the Atlantic coast.

Coming to my office in the morning, I usually pass the Pennsylvania Avenue side of the beautiful Archives Building. On the bases of the two heroic statues in front of the building are carved two quotations from Shakespeare, the first being "What is past is prologue," and the other, "Study the past." Those expressions have been modernized and popularized by former Governor Smith, of New York, who said so frequently, "Let us study the record."

So today I am going to ask the Senate to examine the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, volume 62, of the Sixty-seventh Congress, second session, and study the action taken on March 29, 1922, which appears on page 4718. The Senate then voted on the so-called disarmament treaty. It was ratified by a vote of 74 to 1. Both Senators who raised the question the other day were present and voting on that occasion. The only Senator who voted against ratifying the treaty was Senator France, of Maryland. I shall ask that the speech which he delivered on the floor of the Senate in opposition to the treaty at that time be included in my remarks; but first I wish to quote one paragraph from the speech which Senator France then made. He said:

Mr. President, it is not many years since Great Britain, under the hysteria of a pacifist movement there, was almost persuaded to do what we shall do when we ratify this treaty. A great naval expert of Great Britain, a man who has since been highly honored by the Empire, called attention to the grave danger which might confront the Empire within a few short years if she should adopt the policy which we are adopting today, when, with war threatening, I say, from many directions, we are preparing to scrap so much of our great—real and proposed—Navy. He warned then, I say, as to the danger which might confront Great Britain in a few years if she adopted a policy of drastic naval reduction. By a very narrow margin the contrary policy was adopted, and the great British Fleet was preserved; but if it had not been for the courage and for the vision of that Briton who refused to be swept from his feet by an unreasoning hysteria of pacifism, the history of the last war would have been very different, and the future course of history would have been in a totally different direction.

I ask that the speech delivered by Senator France, of Maryland, on the floor of the Senate in opposition to the treaty at that time, be included in the RECORD as a part of my remarks. The speech appears on pages 4708, 4709, and extends to page 4710.

There being no objection, the speech was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Mr. FRANCE. Mr. President, I desire to say but a few words in explanation of my vote upon the pending treaty. It is not pleasant for me to mar the beautiful picture of harmony which would have been created by a

unanimous vote in ratification of the pending treaty, but I shall vote against it. I shall stand in the minority here in the Senate, but, standing in the minority here, I believe that I shall stand with the overwhelming majority of the American people.

When innumerable doves of peace are beating the air with obedient wings, when all our senses are being enchanted with the intoxicating harmonies of universal pacifism, when we have recently surveyed floating from our public buildings the flags of the great empires of the earth in places of equal honor with the incomparable flag of this Republic, the first prophet and last defender of liberty, it is not pleasant for me to disturb the perfect harmony by rising here to remind the Senate that languishing in prison cells, under sentences of extraordinary severity, are men convicted under a Federal statute of the crime of pacifism.

When the greatest assault in history was being made upon the institutions of liberty by one of the mighty empires of Europe these men, standing in the minority, painted the horrors of war. They dwelt upon its inhumanity. They called attention to the crime of the shedding of one man's blood by another. They extolled the beauties of universal brotherhood, universal love, and universal peace, and for that, under a Federal statute clearly out of harmony with the Constitution of the United States, they were convicted of the then newly created crime of pacifism and were cast into prison where today they languish. And now men are taking today, even in the legislative halls of the Republic, the positions which those men took.

I believe that those men were unjustly convicted. I believe they should be freed, but I believe they were mistaken—mistaken, however, when they were exercising the constitutional right of every man who is a citizen of this Republic to express the minority, even if the repugnant, opinion. But they were doing then what is being done now today. They were preaching pacifism. Now, to my mind pacifism is nothing less than the doctrine which desires peace at any price. It is the doctrine which says, "Let us have peace regardless of the terms of that peace." Pacifism is for peace and for disarmament even when injustice is in the saddle and when the iron hoofs of empire are crushing the anguished hearts and trampling upon the inalienable rights of men.

I am not a pacifist. I do not believe that any progress can be made in the direction of disarmament, in the direction of doing away with the settlement of international disputes by force, until there shall be set up some different method of settling international disputes, until there shall be some international tribunal where oppressions, wrongs, and injustice can be remedied and where the oppressed can find redress.

Loathing war as I do, looking forward fondly as I do to the time when there shall be set up international tribunals for the establishment of international justice, I shall vote against the pending treaty. I shall vote against it because that time has not come. I must confess, as the Senator from Montana, Mr. Walsh, was indicating a few moments ago, to certain twinges of conscience with reference to my attitude upon the League of Nations when I contemplate this new international arrangement which is far less satisfactory. The League of Nations at least pretended to set up a tribunal of justice which should take the place of force in the settlement of international disputes, but under this arrangement we are offered disarmament with no substitute whatever in the way of an international tribunal designed to give us justice.

Mr. President, I am surprised at much of the shallow thought of the statesmanship of our time. It seems not to have ever occurred to some of the statesmen who have been

studying the problems of peace, of war, and of disarmament that armaments are not the disease, that great armies and great navies and great guns are not what ails the world, that these are not in themselves the disease, but that they are only the symptoms of the disease and that those symptoms will persist until the disease is cured. Of course, the disease is nothing else than international injustice and oppression. Loving peace as I do, I love liberty, progress, and justice far more. I do not wish to see disarmament, I do not wish to see the navies disappear until I can be assured that there may be set up the means by which justice may be secured and by which the progress of liberty throughout the world may be made more certain.

I want to say to the Members of the Senate and I want to say to the Members of the House of Representatives that the people of the United States understand this question better, I believe, than do their representatives. The people of the United States love the American Navy. Throw upon the screen of any moving-picture palace or theater of humbler degree in any part of the Republic the animated picture of great American battleships bravely plowing the turbulent waters of the ocean, bearing the Stars and Stripes, representative not only of the wealth, the majesty, and the power of this great Republic, but of its invincible devotion to the higher ideals of liberty, and from the spectators, whose hearts beat true to American traditions, there will arise tumultuous applause. The American people love the American Navy. They realize that it is their first line of defense. They realize that with their great wealth the support of this Navy is an insignificant burden upon them. They realize, further, that our Navy will never be used to promote injustice or oppression, and that it will always be used in the defense of the American ideals of emancipation, of elevation, of liberation.

I shall vote against the ratification of this treaty; and from having noted an actual canvass in my State made some time ago by one of the newspapers, I am convinced that the people of Maryland—a State which has done so much for the Navy, not only in contributing to the great Navy of the United States heroes of years past and of more recent days, but in contributing at Annapolis every year a magnificent class of young midshipmen—are opposed to the crippling of our splendid Navy. I know that they will trust the Republic. I know that the people of the United States believe that this Republic should have the most powerful Navy in the world as a first wall of defense for the protection of our own liberties and as the great benevolent right arm to be always extended for conciliation, for propitiation, for mercy, for humanity, for liberty, and for justice over all the peoples of the world.

Oh, Mr. President, what a prophet was the Father of our Country when he warned us against the insidious wiles of foreign influence! How insidious are these influences! Is there an American Senator or an American Representative or an American citizen who believes that our financial condition is such that we cannot afford to support the largest Navy in the world? I do not know of such a one. It was not long since that all of our newspapers, before the insidious influence of foreign lands began to operate, were speaking proudly of our great achievements in building up a navy. As an illustration of that, I desire to close my remarks with an editorial from the Washington Post of December 23, 1920, which, to my mind, reads like good, old-fashioned Americanism; an Americanism still held by such reactionary old gentlemen as myself; an Americanism which will be held by this reactionary old gentleman, he hopes, until he is consigned to his eternal rest, perhaps with the flag draped about him in some recognition of what he has tried to do in maintaining and defending the ideals of this

Republic. From the Washington Post of only a year ago I read this editorial:

"AMERICAN SUPREMACY AT SEA

"Within 3 years the United States will hold supremacy over the seas. After 300 years of undisputed supremacy, the British Navy will take second place and the Stars and Stripes will float over a fleet stronger than the two fleets that fought the Battle of Jutland. In number of ships, in number of guns, and in size of guns and weight of broadsides the American Fleet will be overwhelmingly superior to the British Fleet. The two navies will stand about as follows in 1924, counting capital ships only:

	Great Britain	United States
Ships.....	18	27
Displacement.....tons.....	487,450	983,000
Heaviest guns.....inch.....	15	16
Greatest speed.....knots.....	31.50	33.25

"Japan is building 8 capital ships and by 1924 will be a promising rival of Great Britain. Indeed, some naval experts are of opinion that the Japanese Fleet by that year will be more effective than the British, although the British Fleet will excel in tonnage. A point to be borne in mind is that, while the American and Japanese ships are new, the British vessels are of an older pattern. No first-class capital ship has been laid down in Europe since the war began, while the United States and Japan have been building up their navies quite actively. The program adopted in 1916 in the United States provided for 157 ships of various types. Among them are 4 battleships of 32,600 tons each and 6 battleships of 43,200 tons each, besides 6 battle cruisers of 35,300 tons each, with a greater speed than any similar vessels afloat or planned.

"Japan's program calls for 24 capital ships, of which at least 8 will be of the latest type, equal to those of any other fleet. Japan's spokesmen announce that the Empire cannot halt its shipbuilding program while the United States continues to increase its fleet, and it is recognized that the disparity of strength will be in favor of the United States in spite of all that Japan can do.

"There is no reason to look for a cessation of American naval increase. President-elect Harding has in fact already announced his policy in his speech at Norfolk upon his return from Panama. He favors a navy and a merchant marine second to no other in the world."

I will say that this is not a criticism of the President, because the President believes that under this plan we shall have a navy second to none in the world, and therefore a navy in harmony with what he said upon this occasion:

"Therefore he will not interpose objections to a reasonable continuation of the expansion program, and certainly he cannot be expected to cut down the program adopted in 1916 and now in process of execution.

"The resources of Great Britain and the disturbed conditions in the British Isles do not seem to encourage a great naval increase. Hence it need not be apprehended that the United States will fail to take first place by 1924, or perhaps by 1923.

"Premier Lloyd George took occasion only yesterday to discuss the question of disarmament. Speaking to the British and imperial delegates to the League of Nations, he said there could never be real peace until the nations ceased competition in armament and until all nations were in the League of Nations, for all nations must act together in this matter. No nation dares to take the risk of disarmament unless all will agree to disarm."

Of course, Mr. President, when Mr. Lloyd George said that he overlooked—as have all the statesmen of the world recently overlooked—the fundamental principle to which I have called attention—the principle that to attempt to get rid of the symptom until you cure the disease is the utmost of folly. All the armies of today might be disbanded, all of the battleships might be scrapped, but if oppression and injustice remained new methods of warfare would be invented. From the beginning of the world men have fought, generally on the one side fighting against injustice and oppression and on the other side fighting for self-aggrandizement, exploitation, and oppression. Men have fought since the beginning of time. They fought with stones; they fought with stone weapons, with bronze-tipped spears; they defended themselves with shields made of hides; they fought in canoes; they fought, after gunpowder was first discovered, with makeshift arms; and now they fight with vast machinery of the utmost perfection and power of destruction. If all the navies of the world should be destroyed tomorrow and the reason for those navies should remain, we would still have conflicts just as deadly, just as destructive, between merchant ships carrying guns.

Someone has said that in the old days we had wooden ships and iron men, while today we have iron ships and wooden men. That is not true of the American Navy. The American Navy is made up of iron men, with courage in their blood, with patriotism in their hearts, and with a knowledge of world conditions which constitute those men among the best prepared in this Republic to know what our naval policy should be; and generally they are opposed to this wholly irrational scheme.

But scrap the big battle cruisers and the big dreadnaughts of the world and then let one imperial nation attempt to take advantage of a weaker but honest competitor in the markets of the world, and before we know it merchantmen will be carrying guns, and great disasters like the *Lusitania* disaster, one of the most terrible in all the history of the world, will have their repetition.

Mr. President, I am not surprised that the Senator from Montana [Mr. WALSH] feels that the rejection of the League of Nations plan, which, at least, attempted to substitute an international tribunal of justice for force, was a mistake and that that plan should have been accepted rather than this. The editorial continues:

"These statements, like all others that have appeared on the subject, omit one all-important qualification. Everything depends upon the nation that is superior in arms. If it is determined to have peace, it can have peace instead of war."

Here is the essence of the whole matter. I challenge any Senator or any Representative in Congress to go out upon the streets or to talk, as I do when I have occasion, with his farmer neighbor across the fence, and ask him whether a nation should have a large navy. I am sure if a Senator will ask his neighbor at home whether a nation should have a big navy or not, the average neighbor would answer very much in this language:

"Everything depends upon the nation that is superior in arms. If it is determined to have peace, it can have peace instead of war. We deny."

And the average American will deny, as was denied a year ago by the editor of the Post—

"We deny that superiority in armament makes a nation warlike or that competition in armaments drives nations into armed conflict. Great Britain herself is a witness against Mr. Lloyd George. The British Navy is supreme on the seas, and yet Great Britain does not provoke war. She did not start the World War, although her navy was armed to

the teeth and could have defeated Germany by a sudden stroke at any time before the completion of the Kiel Canal.

"The strongest army in the world in 1919 was the United States Army. But it did not seek war. The possession of enormous armed strength on land and sea did not make the United States a whit more warlike than during the seemingly pacifist years 1914-16. Who is the American who believes that in 1924, when the United States will possess the greatest navy afloat, this Nation will seek war? We believe the United States will use its Navy to promote peace, as the British Navy has been used.

"The most important part of Mr. Lloyd George's observation is that which makes it clear that the nations do not trust one another."

Mr. President, there is still some slight evidence of this condition today, even after the great disarmament conference; a condition under which the nations do not trust one another.

"That is a solid, incontrovertible fact, a fact that outweighs the mountains of theories concerning brotherhoods, leagues, and peace based on loving confidence. Not trusting one another, the nations must retain their independence and their strength. So far as the well-meaning and reliable nations can cooperate for the world's welfare, well and good; but they have traitors and assassins among them, and therefore they dare not depend upon leagues as substitutes for armies and navies.

"The United States craves the privilege of cooperating with enlightened and free nations for the sake of all mankind. At the same time, seeing the world as it is, and not as it might appear through rainbow-tinted spectacles, the United States uses its resources in its own defense. As this Nation contains most of the world's wealth and as its resources are the greatest in the world, it is proper that the United States Navy should be the most powerful in the world."

This is an editorial from the Washington Post of a year ago.

Mr. President, it is not many years since Great Britain, under the hysteria of a pacifist movement there, was almost persuaded to do what we shall do when we ratify this treaty. A great naval expert of Great Britain, a man who has since been highly honored by the empire, called attention to the grave danger which might confront the empire within a few short years if she should adopt the policy which we are adopting today, when, with war threatening, I say, from many directions, we are preparing to scrap so much of our great—real and proposed—Navy. He warned them, I say, as to the danger which might confront Great Britain in a few years if she adopted a policy of drastic naval reduction. By a very narrow margin the contrary policy was adopted, and the great British Fleet was preserved; but if it had not been for the courage and for the vision of that Briton who refused to be swept from his feet by an unreasoning hysteria of pacifism the history of the last war would have been very different, and the future course of history would have been in a totally different direction.

I believe that we should build our Navy. I believe that we should go on to complete our 1916 program. I believe that the great institutions of liberty upon the Western Continent will face grave dangers during the next decade. I believe that we should be prepared with ships and men to defend the American ideal and the American flag against the menacing dangers of the great empires of the world, which hate with a deep, abiding hatred which will never die as long as the imperial system lives the very system and ideals of Americanism, which are in conflict with everything for which the empires stand.

There is not one of those great empires which would not crush the life out of the



American ideal and the American system if it could—an ideal and a system which, unless they be destroyed, will march steadily on with irresistible conquering force until the ideals and system of imperialism have been wiped from the earth, which for so many centuries has been stained and cursed by them.

I shall vote against this treaty if I vote alone, and I shall wait for the patient years to vindicate my vote; and I know that the majority of the American people fully realize that this policy, which is indeed a sudden reversal of a well and long considered policy—this policy of scrapping so much of the great American Navy at the very moment when that Navy was coming to a position where it would have held supremacy of the seas—is a grave mistake.

As far as I am concerned, I can vote "nay" with perfect confidence that my vote is the proper vote, and if that unhappy time shall ever come, which I pray God may not be, when we shall be menaced by a combination of the empires which hate us, if we shall be unprepared the blood, the havoc, the destruction shall not be charged to me nor to my record as a Member of the Senate of the United States.

Mr. GUFFEY. Senator France, as Senators know, was usually regarded as a pacifist. I call the Senate's attention also to the action taken by the Senate on March 19, 1920, which is found on page 4599, volume 59, part V, of the second session of the Sixty-sixth Congress. I think the Senators who were criticizing the administration the other day will find, if they study the two questions discussed on the floor on the occasions referred to and the resulting votes, what caused the present world war, which has to date resulted in more than 10,000,000 casualties, and which will cost this country more than \$150,000,000,000.

After a little more research and study I found in David Loth's book on Woodrow Wilson, a quotation from a letter written by former President Taft to Gus J. Karger on February 22, 1919. I shall now proceed to read the quotation from that letter:

As I write I look out upon the desert of Nevada, and it suggests the waste that war makes; and when I think of the vicious narrowness of Reed; the explosive ignorance of Poindexter; the ponderous Websterian language and lack of stamina of Borah; the vanity of Lodge as an old diplomatic hand on the Foreign Relations Committee; the selfishness, laziness, and narrow lawyer-like acuteness of Knox; the emptiness and sly partisanship of Hale; with the utter nothingness of Fall, in the face of this great world's crisis, I confess I don't see where we have any advantage over the women—at least in this juncture.

I beg of you to believe I am not drunk or wild, but am only roused to the critical situation in world affairs that those who gather around the council board in Paris know, and that these barking critics do not seem to realize.

It is their American selfishness, their American littleness, blinding them to the real interests of this Nation as well as of the world that arouses me. I can see that little head of Hays wagging over the errors I have made from a political standpoint. I can hear the discussions in the cloakrooms and the damning of me. I can hear the wisecracks say, "That shows what defeated the party in 1912, and here's a repetition of it."

"Weren't the progressives justified in breaking off? Taft's loyalty to the party was always weak. Now, thank God, he is out of it."

To have incurred this condemnation by so noble a body as the Republicans of the Senate, and such a shining leader as Fess, is certainly a sad fate, but I must bear it.

That is all of the letter that has been made public. I think it is sufficient to demonstrate his viewpoint.

Mr. President, I propose to continue to search the record when any statements are made with which I do not agree and believe to be wrong or misleading, and I will report to the Senate.

#### RETIREMENT PRIVILEGE FOR MEMBERS OF CONGRESS

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I have noted some newspaper discussion with respect to the effect of the legislation to repeal the congressional pension plan.

The amendment offered by the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. BAILEY], the Senator from Ohio [Mr. BURTON], the Senator from Colorado [Mr. JOHNSON], and myself, had as its purpose the repeal of any pension benefits to the elective branch of the Government—members of the Senate and House of Representatives, the President, and the Vice President—as well as Cabinet officers. This amendment eliminated the new provisions relating to such pensions adopted in the last Retirement Act, which became a law on January 24, 1942.

I offer a statement from the Legislative Counsel of the United States Senate, where the amendment was prepared.

The question of a contractual obligation which may be established by payment into the retirement fund by any Member of the Congress, the President, Vice President, or Cabinet officer prior to the repeal of this legislation is one, of course, for legal determination; but the Legislative Counsel is of the opinion that the section of the repealer amendment which requires the immediate return to the applicant of any payments made certainly protects this question.

I am fully convinced that in view of the repeal legislation, no Member of Congress would attempt to take advantage of a technicality by making payments into the retirement fund and thereby endeavoring to establish a contractual obligation, even though such a technicality might permit such action. In any event, if this should occur it would be the fault of the original legislation, which the repealer remedies so far as is possible.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD as a part of my remarks a statement by the Legislative Counsel.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

The amendment to H. R. 6446, which you offered and which was agreed to by the Senate, will, if it remains in the bill, eliminate, so far as it is possible to do so, any retirement privileges which were accorded to Members of Congress by the act of January 24, 1942.

It has been asserted that your amendment will not affect the right to receive retirement benefits now enjoyed by a very limited number of Members of Congress who, before becoming Members of Congress, were employed by the United States in positions covered by the Civil Service Retirement Act and who, upon coming to Congress from such positions, continued to make payments into the

retirement fund. It is not altogether clear that such assertions are correct. It should be noted that this group of Congressmen do not derive their rights to retirement benefits from the act of January 24, 1942, but had acquired their rights under the Civil Service Retirement Act as it read before January 24, 1942. Hence, even if such Members of Congress continue to enjoy rights to retirement benefits, it will not mean that your amendment will have failed to take away all rights to retirement benefits which were conferred by the act of January 24, 1942.

Subsection (d) of your amendment provides for paying back to the Members of Congress who are made ineligible for annuity benefits by your amendment of any sums which they may have paid into the retirement fund, whether as deductions from salary or as deposits to buy full credit for past service. Certainly if such sums are paid back to such Members and accepted by them their rights to retirement benefits will have been eliminated.

However, it has been contended that those Members who have paid sums into the fund since January 24, 1942, have acquired a contractual right to retirement benefits which cannot be taken away from them. This contention would not seem to be very sound, and if such rights may constitutionally be taken away from them your amendment will be effective in doing so.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I have no desire to encumber the RECORD with communications respecting the so-called congressional pension law, but in view of the insertions made by the distinguished Senator from New York [Mr. MEAD], I am offering for inclusion in the body of the RECORD a joint resolution unanimously adopted by the General Assembly of the State of New Jersey in opposition to any Federal pension system applicable to Members of Congress; and also a resolution adopted unanimously by the General Assembly of the State of Virginia.

I am further informed that Assemblyman Orlo M. Brees, of Binghamton, N. Y., has introduced a similar resolution in the New York State Legislature; but I am not informed whether any action has been taken on it.

Only five State legislatures meet in regular session in 1942. Had more legislatures been in session, it is, of course, probable that additional memorials to Congress on this subject would have been adopted.

I offer for insertion in the body of the RECORD a resolution adopted by the Board of Supervisors of Appomattox County, Va.; a resolution adopted by the New Jersey State Federation of Women's Clubs; a resolution adopted by the West Wenatchee Grange, No. 1024, and the Chelan County Pomona Grange, No. 23, of the State of Washington; a telegram received from Mr. Earl W. Decker, president of the ladies' and men's Democratic clubs of Johnson City, N. Y.; a telegram from Roscoe Harp, secretary of the Grays Harbor Industrial Unity Council, affiliated with the Congress of Industrial Organizations of the State of Washington; a resolution adopted by the junior chamber of commerce of the city of Danville, Va.; and a resolution adopted by the Board of Supervisors of Halifax County, Va. These represent only a very small proportion of the resolutions

adopted on the subject which have been sent to me.

I also offer for insertion in the RECORD the result of the Gallup poll.

I shall not encumber the RECORD further, although hundreds of editorials and communications are available for insertion in opposition to the pension legislation; and I am offering these only because of the insertions made by the junior Senator from New York. I ask unanimous consent that the various communications, resolutions, and so forth, to which I have referred, be printed in the RECORD at this point as a part of my remarks.

There being no objection, the matters referred to were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Whereas the Seventy-seventh Congress has enacted into law House Resolution 3487, which revises the Federal Civil Service Retirement Act to include provisions granting for the first time in the Nation's history liberal pension privileges to elected Federal officials, including the Members of the United States Senate and House of Representatives; and

Whereas the extension of the Federal pension system to Members of Congress, in many cases providing lucrative payments at trivial cost to the beneficiaries, will result in additional tax burdens upon the people in a period when they are already asked to bear unprecedented tax burdens in the furtherance of national defense; and

Whereas the action by Congress in making its Members beneficiaries of the Federal pension system opens the floodgates to the lavish demands of irresponsible pressure groups for billions of dollars' worth of new and additional public pensions and subsidies, thus placing in jeopardy the national credit; and

Whereas the New Jersey Legislature, having adopted a fiscal program for this State which calls for the strictest economy in the operations of our State government, likewise desires to safeguard the interests of its people against additional Federal tax burdens not related to the war effort; and

Whereas the action of Congress hereinabove referred to is deemed inimical to the interests of the people of New Jersey and of all other States and completely out of step with the Nation's need to conserve its resources for the prosecution of the war: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved by the Senate and General Assembly of the State of New Jersey:*

1. The Legislature of the State of New Jersey urges and petitions the Congress of the United States to repeal all provisions of Public Law 411 (77th Cong., approved January 24, 1942), which amend the Federal Civil Service Retirement Act to provide pensions to elected Federal officials.

2. The secretary of state be, and he is hereby, directed to transmit copies of this joint resolution to the President of the United States, the Vice President of the United States, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and the Senators and Representatives of the State of New Jersey in the Congress.

3. This joint resolution shall take effect immediately.

Whereas the Nation is engaged in war in which the very existence of the Republic is at stake; and

Whereas toward the successful prosecution of the war Congress has pledged the full resources of the Nation and sacrifices and self-denial are demanded from all citizens in every walk of life; and

Whereas it is incumbent upon all the leaders of the country, including the Members of

Congress to set an example to the people in the making of such sacrifices; and

Whereas recently the Congress has enacted a bill under which pensions have been voted to its own Members: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved by the Senate of Virginia (the House of Delegates concurring)* That during these perilous times it is not sound public policy for elected public officials to receive pensions payable from the Public Treasury; and be it further

*Resolved*, That the action of Virginia's junior United States Senator, HARRY F. BYRD, in opposing the passage of this legislation and in urging its repeal is commended, and has the approval of the people of Virginia; and be it further

*Resolved*, That the other Members of the Virginia delegation to the Congress be, and they hereby are, urged to support the immediate repeal of the aforesaid legislation; and be it further

*Resolved*, That a copy of this resolution shall be certified to each of the Members of the Virginia delegation to the Congress of the United States, to the Speaker of the House of Representatives thereof, and to the Vice President of the United States.

Whereas our country is facing a national crisis and is calling upon its citizens of all walks of life to make tremendous sacrifices of their time, money, and effort, and to give our young men in large numbers to defend its very life and existence; and

Whereas even the poorest of our people are responding splendidly to the urgent appeals for Red Cross war relief, the purchase of Defense bonds and stamps, and are patriotically giving their boys to die, if necessary, for our country; and

Whereas in view of all these facts the Congress of the United States has seen fit to vote itself pensions under circumstances which are especially favorable to the present Members of Congress; and

Whereas this action is calculated to undermine the confidence of our people in the present Congress and has incurred the resentment of a great number of our people: Therefore be it

*Resolved by the Board of Supervisors of Appomattox County in regular meeting this 11th day of February 1942*, That it strongly condemns this act of Congress, and those Members who voted for the passage of the same, but wholeheartedly commends those who voted against the passage of said act and the efforts of those who are seeking to have the same repealed.

Whereas the amendment to the Civil Service Retirement Act providing pensions for Members of Congress places them in the same category as civil servants; and

Whereas the advocacy of the principle that such persons are entitled to pension benefits imposes great and unforeseen strains on existing pension funds to which civil servants have contributed over a period of many years; and

Whereas the Nation is in a state of war and committed to the vast costs of equipping and maintaining our armed forces and to the unpredictable costs of hospitalization and rehabilitation of these forces upon demobilization: Therefore be it

*Resolved*, That the State board of trustees of the New Jersey State Federation of Women's Clubs, meeting February 13, 1942, endorse Senate bill No. 2242 and House of Representatives bill No. 6508 repealing this amendment to the Civil Service Retirement Act, on the ground that it is contrary to the public interest.

Whereas a bill has been introduced into Congress providing a pension for Congressmen after they have served their elected term, and said bill has become a law; and

Whereas the Nation is in one of its most critical crises and threatened with danger from all sides; and

Whereas the people are being called upon to sacrifice, even to the necessities of life; and

Whereas the Nation is being called upon to give and give until it hurts to many different causes to alleviate human distress; and

Whereas thousands of our young men and boys are arrayed on fields of battle after giving up homes and jobs, knowing that in many cases they will never return; and

Whereas the passing of such a law will have a demoralizing effect on our soldiers and sailors who have given their all, as well as on the general populace, who will have to pay most of the pensions: Therefore be it

*Resolved*, That West Wenatchee Grange No. 1024 and Chelan County Pomona Grange No. 23 go on record urging all Senators and Representatives to reconsider this bill and repeal it; and be it further

*Resolved*, That a copy of this resolution be sent to the Congressmen who were outstanding in the arguments against this bill and to our own State Representatives.

JOHNSON CITY, N. Y., February 7, 1942.

Senator BYRD,

Care Senate Chamber,  
Washington, D. C.:

At a joint meeting of the Ladies' and Men's Democratic Clubs of Johnson City a resolution was unanimously passed pledging full support to any move you make to repeal the Meade-Ramspeck pension bill. We will be glad to assist you any way to eliminate this stain on our congressional body.

EARL W. DECKER, President.

ABERDEEN, WASH., February 7, 1942.

The Honorable Senator BYRD,

Washington, D. C.:

In regular meeting we, a delegated body representing 7,000 workers in the woodworking industry, are asking you to use your influence and best efforts in repealing the pension law for Congressmen. The opinion is that the pension law is an unjust piece of legislation and tends to retard the sale of defense bonds and stamps to our members.

ROSCOE HARP,  
Secretary, Grays Harbor Industrial Unity Council, affiliated with Congress of Industrial Organizations.

JUNIOR CHAMBER OF COMMERCE,  
Danville, Va., February 18, 1942.

The Honorable HARRY FLOOD BYRD,

The United States Senate,  
Washington, D. C.

Sir: As president of the Danville Junior Chamber of Commerce, I have been commanded, by unanimous vote of the organization, to write to you in their behalf expressing their strong disapproval of the action of our Congress in permitting a bill to be passed creating pensions for individual Members of our elected legislative body.

Yours very truly,

JAMES L. HOWE,  
President.

In view of the critical situation of our country when our citizens are being called upon to make tremendous and necessary sacrifices in money, time, and effort, and when our young men are being called to the colors in large numbers to defend the very life of our country; and

In view of the fact that the Board of Supervisors of Halifax County considers the action of the Congress of the United States in voting for itself pensions under circumstances which are peculiarly favorable to the present Members of Congress, as calculated to undermine the confidence of the people; and



In view of the fact that even the poorest of our citizens are responding splendidly to the urgent appeal for Red Cross war relief, for the purchase of Defense Savings stamps and bonds and are sending their young men uncompainingly to die, if necessary, for their country: Be it

*Resolved*, That the Board of Supervisors of Halifax County strongly condemns this act of Congress as against the public interest and as destructive to public morale; be it further

*Resolved*, That the board of supervisors commends Senator Byrd, Congressman BURCH, and those Members of the United States Senate from Virginia and of the House of Representatives from Virginia who favor the repeal of this measure; be it further

*Resolved*, That a copy of this resolution be sent to the county papers, the Times-Dispatch, the News-Leader, the Danville Register, the Lynchburg News, and the Associated Press, and to the members of the Virginia congressional delegation.

#### VOTERS OPPOSE PENSIONS FOR CONGRESS

(By Dr. George Gailup)

PRINCETON, N. J., February 17.—Public reaction to the issue of pensions for Congressmen is one of strong opposition, first returns in a Nation-wide survey by the American Institute of Public Opinion indicate.

Approximately three voters in every four, on the average, the poll finds, have heard or read about the principle involved in the legislation passed by the House of Representatives which would allow Members of Congress to put themselves under the civil-service retirement system if they have served 5 years.

Those who knew about the plan were asked in the poll:

"Do you approve or disapprove of giving a pension to Congressmen when they leave office?"

	Percent
Yes.....	10
No.....	84
Undecided.....	6

#### EXECUTIVE SESSION

Mr. BARKLEY. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business.

#### EXECUTIVE MESSAGE REFERRED

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. GILLETTE in the chair) laid before the Senate a message from the President of the United States nominating Callis H. Atkins to be an assistant sanitary engineer in the United States Public Health Service, to take effect from date of oath, which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

#### EXECUTIVE REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

The following favorable reports of nominations were submitted:

By Mr. McCARRAN, from the Committee on the Judiciary:

Oscar S. Cox, of Maine, to be Assistant Solicitor General of the United States, vice Charles Fahy, resigned.

By Mr. HILL, from the Committee on Commerce:

Jean H. Hawley, to be Assistant Director of the Coast and Geodetic Survey with rank of rear admiral, and several employees of the Coast and Geodetic Survey to be hydrographic and geodetic engineers with the rank of lieutenant in the Survey.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. If there be no further reports of committees, the clerk will state the nominations on the calendar.

#### POSTMASTER—GABRIEL J. CHOPP

The legislative clerk read the nomination of Gabriel J. Chopp to be postmaster at Ahmeek, Mich.

Mr. BROWN. Mr. President, I ask that the nomination be confirmed.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed. That completes the calendar.

#### RECESS

Mr. BARKLEY. As in legislative session, I move that the Senate take a recess until 12 o'clock noon tomorrow.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 1 o'clock and 44 minutes p. m.) the Senate took a recess until tomorrow, Tuesday, February 24, 1942, at 12 o'clock noon.

#### NOMINATION

Executive nomination received by the Senate February 23 (legislative day of February 13), 1942:

##### UNITED STATES PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE

Callis H. Atkins to be an Assistant Sanitary Engineer in the United States Public Health Service, to take effect from date of oath.

#### CONFIRMATION

Executive nomination confirmed by the Senate February 23 (legislative day of February 13), 1942:

##### POSTMASTER

##### MICHIGAN

Gabriel J. Chopp, Ahmeek.

## HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 23, 1942

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. James Shera Montgomery, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Give ear, O Lord, unto our prayer; in the beauty and glory of Thy infinite nature, incline unto us. In these hallowed moments it is given us to realize the patriotic devotion and character of our forefathers. From the unseen heights of Thy throne Thou didst guide their broken columns as they toiled in sacrificial suffering to bring order out of chaos, service out of selfishness, and man out of the throes of political tyranny. Oh, consider and hear us as we pray the prayer of the immortal Virginia patriot:

"Almighty God, we make our earnest prayer that Thou wilt keep the United States in Thy holy protection; that Thou wilt incline the hearts of the citizens to cultivate a spirit of subordination and obedience to government, and entertain a brotherly affection and love for one another and for their fellow citizens of the United States at large. And finally that Thou wilt most graciously be pleased to dispose us all to do justice, love mercy, and to demean ourselves with that charity, humility, and pacific temper of mind which were the characteristics of the Divine Author of our blessed religion without a humble imitation of whose example in these things we can never hope to be a happy nation. Grant our suppli-

cation, we beseech Thee, through Jesus Christ, our Lord. Amen."

The Journal of the proceedings of Thursday, February 19, 1942, was read and approved.

#### MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Frazier, its legislative clerk, announced that the Senate had passed with amendments, in which the concurrence of the House is requested, a bill of the House of the following title:

H. R. 6446. An act to provide for continuing payment of pay and allowances of personnel of the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, and Coast Guard, including the retired and Reserve components thereof, and civilian employees of the War and Navy Departments, during periods of absence from post of duty, and for other purposes.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed a bill of the following title, in which the concurrence of the House is requested:

S. 2282. An act to provide for the planting of guayule and other rubber-bearing plants and to make available a source of crude rubber for emergency and defense uses.

The message also announced that the Vice President had appointed Mr. BARKLEY and Mr. BREWSTER members of the joint select committee on the part of the Senate, as provided in the act of August 5, 1939, entitled "An act to provide for the disposition of certain records of the United States Government," for the disposition of executive papers in the following agencies:

1. Government Printing Office.
2. The National Archives.

#### ENROLLED BILL SIGNED

Mr. KIRWAN, from the Committee on Enrolled Bills, reported that that committee had, on February 19, 1942, examined and found truly enrolled a bill of the House of the following title:

H. R. 6548. An act making appropriations to supply deficiencies in certain appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1942, and for prior fiscal years, to provide supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1942, and for other purposes.

The SPEAKER. The Chair desires to announce that, pursuant to the authority granted him on February 19, 1942, he did, on Friday, February 20, 1942, sign the enrolled bill of the House, H. R. 6548, the first deficiency appropriation bill.

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that I may extend my remarks in the RECORD by including therein an address delivered by the Honorable GEORGE A. DONDERO before the Michigan State College Alumni.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

#### GEORGE WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS

The SPEAKER. The Chair thinks it proper first to recognize the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. STEFAN] to read George Washington's Farewell Address. The gentleman from Nebraska.

Mr. STEFAN. Washington's Farewell Address:

*To the people of the United States:*

FRIENDS AND FELLOW CITIZENS: The period for a new election of a citizen to administer the executive government of the United States being not far distant, and the time actually arrived when your thoughts must be employed in designating the person who is to be clothed with that important trust, it appears to me proper, especially as it may conduce to a more distinct expression of the public voice, that I should now apprise you of the resolution I have formed, to decline being considered among the number of those, out of whom a choice is to be made.

I beg you, at the same time, to do me the justice to be assured, that this resolution has not been taken, without a strict regard to all the considerations appertaining to the relation which binds a dutiful citizen to his country; and that, in withdrawing the tender of service which silence in my situation might imply, I am influenced by no diminution of zeal for your future interest; no deficiency of grateful respect for your past kindness; but am supported by a full conviction that the step is compatible with both.

The acceptance of, and continuance hitherto in the office to which your suffrages have twice called me, have been a uniform sacrifice of inclination to the opinion of duty, and to a deference for what appeared to be your desire. I constantly hoped that it would have been much earlier in my power, consistently with motives which I was not at liberty to disregard, to return to that retirement from which I had been reluctantly drawn. The strength of my inclination to do this, previous to the last election, had even led to the preparation of an address to declare it to you; but mature reflection on the then perplexed and critical posture of our affairs with foreign nations, and the unanimous advice of persons entitled to my confidence, impelled me to abandon the idea.

I rejoice that the state of your concerns, external as well as internal, no longer renders the pursuit of inclination incompatible with the sentiment of duty or propriety; and am persuaded, whatever partiality may be retained for my services, that in the present circumstances of our country, you will not disapprove my determination to retire.

The impressions with which I first undertook the arduous trust, were explained on the proper occasion. In the discharge of this trust, I will only say that I have, with good intentions, contributed towards the organization and administration of the government, the best exertions of which a very fallible judgment was capable. Not unconscious in the outset, of the inferiority of my qualifications, experience, in my own eyes, perhaps still more in the eyes of others, has strengthened the motives to diffidence of myself; and, every day, the increasing weight of years admonishes me more and more, that the shade of retirement is as necessary to me as it will be welcome. Satisfied that if any circumstances have given peculiar value

to my services they were temporary, I have the consolation to believe that, while choice and prudence invite me to quit the political scene, patriotism does not forbid it.

In looking forward to the moment which is to terminate the career of my political life, my feelings do not permit me to suspend the deep acknowledgment of that debt of gratitude which I owe to my beloved country, for the many honors it has conferred upon me; still more for the steadfast confidence with which it has supported me; and for the opportunities I have thence enjoyed of manifesting my inviolable attachment, by services faithful and persevering, though in usefulness unequal to my zeal. If benefits have resulted to our country from these services, let it always be remembered to your praise, and as an instructive example in our annals, that under circumstances in which the passions, agitated in every direction, were liable to mislead amidst appearances sometimes dubious, vicissitudes of fortune often discouraging—in situations in which not unfrequently, want of success has countenanced the spirit of criticism,—the constancy of your support was the essential prop of the efforts, and a guarantee of the plans, by which they were effected. Profoundly penetrated with this idea, I shall carry it with me to my grave, as a strong incitement to unceasing vows that heaven may continue to you the choicest tokens of its beneficence—that your union and brotherly affection may be perpetual—that the free constitution, which is the work of your hands, may be sacredly maintained—that its administration in every department may be stamped with wisdom and virtue—that, in fine, the happiness of the people of these states under the auspices of liberty, may be made complete by so careful a preservation, and so prudent a use of this blessing, as will acquire to them the glory of recommending it to the applause, the affection and adoption of every nation which is yet a stranger to it.

Here, perhaps, I ought to stop. But a solicitude for your welfare, which cannot end but with my life, and the apprehension of danger, natural to that solicitude, urge me, on an occasion like the present, to offer to your solemn contemplation, and to recommend to your frequent review, some sentiments which are the result of much reflection, of no inconsiderable observation, and which appear to me all important to the permanency of your felicity as a people. These will be offered to you with the more freedom, as you can only see in them the disinterested warnings of a parting friend, who can possibly have no personal motive to bias his counsel. Nor can I forget, as an encouragement to it, your indulgent reception of my sentiments on a former and not dissimilar occasion.

Interwoven as is the love of liberty with every ligament of your hearts, no recommendation of mine is necessary to fortify or confirm the attachment.

The unity of government which constitutes you one people, is also now dear to you. It is justly so; for it is a main pillar in the edifice of your real inde-

pendence; the support of your tranquility at home; your peace abroad; of your safety; of your prosperity; of that very liberty which you so highly prize. But as it is easy to foresee that, from different causes and from different quarters much pains will be taken, many artifices employed, to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth; as this is the point in your political fortress against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively (though often covertly and insidiously) directed; it is of infinite moment, that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national union to your collective and individual happiness; that you should cherish a cordial, habitual, and immovable attachment to it; accustoming yourselves to think and speak of it as of the palladium of your political safety and prosperity; watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety; discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can, in any event, be abandoned; and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts.

For this you have every inducement of sympathy and interest. Citizens by birth, or choice, of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections. The name of American, which belongs to you in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of patriotism, more than any appellation derived from local discriminations. With slight shades of difference, you have the same religion, manners, habits, and political principles. You have, in a common cause, fought and triumphed together; the independence and liberty you possess, are the work of joint counsels, and joint efforts, of common dangers, sufferings and successes.

But these considerations, however powerfully they address themselves to your sensibility, are greatly outweighed by those which apply more immediately to your interest.—Here, every portion of our country finds the most commanding motives for carefully guarding and preserving the union of the whole.

The *north*, in an unrestrained intercourse with the *south*, protected by the equal laws of a common government, finds in the productions of the latter, great additional resources of maritime and commercial enterprise, and precious materials of manufacturing industry.—The *south*, in the same intercourse, benefiting by the same agency of the *north*, sees its agriculture grow and its commerce expand. Turning partly into its own channels the seamen of the *north*, it finds its particular navigation invigorated; and while it contributes, in different ways, to nourish and increase the general mass of the national navigation, it looks forward to the protection of a maritime strength, to which itself is unequally adapted. The *east*, in a like intercourse with the *west*, already finds, and in the progressive improvement of interior communications by land and water, will more and more find a valuable vent for the commodities which it brings



from abroad, or manufactures at home. The *west* derives from the *east* supplies requisite to its growth and comfort—and what is perhaps of still greater consequence, it must of necessity owe the secure enjoyment of indispensable outlets for its own productions, to the weight, influence, and the future maritime strength of the Atlantic side of the Union, directed by an indissoluble community of interest as *one nation*. Any other tenure by which the *west* can hold this essential advantage, whether derived from its own separate strength; or from an apostate and unnatural connection with any foreign power, must be intrinsically precarious.

While then every part of our country thus feels an immediate and particular interest in union, all the parts combined cannot fail to find in the united mass of means and efforts, greater strength, greater resource, proportionably greater security from external danger, a less frequent interruption of their peace by foreign nations; and, what is of inestimable value, they must derive from union, an exemption from those broils and wars between themselves, which so frequently afflict neighboring countries not tied together by the same government; which their own rivalry alone would be sufficient to produce, but which opposite foreign alliances, attachments, and intrigues, would stimulate and embitter. Hence likewise, they will avoid the necessity of those overgrown military establishments, which under any form of government are inauspicious to liberty, and which are to be regarded as particularly hostile to republican liberty. In this sense it is, that your union ought to be considered as a main prop of your liberty, and that the love of the one ought to endeavor to you the preservation of the other.

These considerations speak a persuasive language to every reflecting and virtuous mind and exhibit the continuance of the union as a primary object of patriotic desire. Is there a doubt whether a common government can embrace so large a sphere? let experience solve it. To listen to mere speculation in such a case were criminal. We are authorized to hope that a proper organization of the whole, with the auxiliary agency of governments for the respective subdivisions, will afford a happy issue to the experiment. It is well worth a fair and full experiment. With such powerful and obvious motives to union, affecting all parts of our country, while experience shall not have demonstrated its impracticability, there will always be reason to distrust the patriotism of those who, in any quarter, may endeavor to weaken its hands.

In contemplating the causes which may disturb our Union, it occurs as matter of serious concern, that any ground should have been furnished for characterizing parties by *geographical* discriminations,—*northern* and *southern*—*Atlantic* and *western*; whence designing men may endeavor to excite a belief that there is a real difference of local interests and views. One of the expedients of party to acquire influence within particular districts, is to misrepresent the opinions

and aims of other districts. You cannot shield yourselves too much against the jealousies and heart burnings which spring from these misrepresentations; they tend to render alien to each other those who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection. The inhabitants of our western country have lately had a useful lesson on this head; they have seen, in the negotiation by the executive, and in the unanimous ratification by the senate of the treaty with Spain, and in the universal satisfaction at the event throughout the United States, a decisive proof how unfounded were the suspicions propagated among them of a policy in the general government and in the Atlantic states, unfriendly to their interests in regard to the Mississippi. They have been witnesses to the formation of two treaties, that with Great Britain and that with Spain, which secure to them everything they could desire, in respect to our foreign relations, towards confirming their prosperity. Will it not be their wisdom to rely for the preservation of these advantages on the union by which they were procured? will they not henceforth be deaf to those advisers, if such they are, who would sever them from their brethren and connect them with aliens?

To the efficacy and permanency of your Union, a government for the whole is indispensable. No alliances, however strict, between the parts can be an adequate substitute; they must inevitably experience the infractions and interruptions which all alliances, in all times, have experienced. Sensible of this momentous truth, you have improved upon your first essay, by the adoption of a constitution of government, better calculated than your former for an intimate union, and for the efficacious management of your common concerns. This government, the offspring of our own choice, uninfluenced and unawed, adopted upon full investigation and mature deliberation, completely free in its principles, in the distribution of its powers, uniting security with energy, and maintaining within itself a provision for its own amendment, has a just claim to your confidence and your support. Respect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true liberty. The basis of our political systems is the right of the people to make and to alter their constitutions of government.—But the constitution which at any time exists, until changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is sacredly obligatory upon all. The very idea of the power, and the right of the people to establish government, presuppose the duty of every individual to obey the established government.

All obstructions to the execution of the laws, all combinations and associations under whatever plausible character, with the real design to direct, control, counteract, or awe the regular deliberations and action of the constituted authorities, are destructive of this fundamental principle, and of fatal tendency.—They serve to organize faction, to give it an artificial and extraordinary force, to put

in the place of the delegated will of the nation the will of party, often a small but artful and enterprising minority of the community; and, according to the alternate triumphs of different parties, to make the public administration the mirror of the ill concerted and incongruous projects of faction, rather than the organ of consistent and wholesome plans digested by common councils, and modified by mutual interests.

However combinations or associations of the above description may now and then answer popular ends, they are likely, in the course of time and things, to become potent engines, by which cunning, ambitious, and unprincipled men, will be enabled to subvert the power of the people, and to usurp for themselves the reins of government; destroying afterwards the very engines which have lifted them to unjust dominion.

Towards the preservation of your government and the permanency of your present happy state, it is requisite, not only that you steadily discountenance irregular opposition to its acknowledged authority, but also that you resist with care the spirit of innovation upon its principles, however specious the pretext. One method of assault may be to effect, in the forms of the constitution, alterations which will impair the energy of the system; and thus to undermine what cannot be directly overthrown. In all the changes to which you may be invited, remember that time and habit are at least as necessary to fix the true character of governments, as of other human institutions:—that experience is the surest standard by which to test the real tendency of the existing constitution of a country:—that facility in changes, upon the credit of mere hypothesis and opinion, exposes to perpetual change from the endless variety of hypothesis and opinion: and remember, especially, that for the efficient management of your common interests in a country so extensive as ours, a government of as much vigor as is consistent with the perfect security of liberty is indispensable. Liberty itself will find in such a government, with powers properly distributed and adjusted, its surest guardian. It is, indeed, little else than a name, where the government is too feeble to withstand the enterprises of faction, to confine each member of the society within the limits prescribed by the laws, and to maintain all in the secure and tranquil enjoyment of the rights of person and property.

I have already intimated to you the danger of parties in the state, with particular references to the founding them on geographical discrimination. Let me now take a more comprehensive view, and warn you in the most solemn manner against the baneful effects of the spirit of party generally.

This spirit, unfortunately, is inseparable from our nature, having its root in the strongest passions of the human mind.—It exists under different shapes in all governments, more or less stifled, controlled, or repressed; but in those of the popular form it is seen in its greatest rankness, and is truly their worst enemy.

The alternate domination of one faction over another, sharpened by the spirit

of revenge natural to party dissension, which in different ages and countries has perpetrated the most horrid enormities, is itself a frightful despotism.—But this leads at length to a more formal and permanent despotism. The disorders and miseries which result, gradually incline the minds of men to seek security and repose in the absolute power of an individual; and, sooner or later, the chief of some prevailing faction, more able or more fortunate than his competitors, turns this disposition to the purpose of his own elevation on the ruins of public liberty.

Without looking forward to an extremity of this kind, (which nevertheless ought not to be entirely out of sight) the common and continual mischiefs of the spirit of party are sufficient to make it the interest and duty of a wise people to discourage and restrain it.

It serves always to distract the public councils, and enfeeble the public administration. It agitates the community with ill founded jealousies and false alarms; kindles the animosity of one part against another; foment occasional riot and insurrection. It opens the door to foreign influence and corruption, which finds a facilitated access to the government itself through the channels of party passions. Thus the policy and the will of one country are subjected to the policy and will of another.

There is an opinion that parties in free countries are useful checks upon the administration of the government, and serve to keep alive the spirit of liberty. This within certain limits is probably true; and in governments of a monarchical cast, patriotism may look with indulgence, if not with favor, upon the spirit of party. But in those of the popular character, in governments purely elective, it is a spirit not to be encouraged. From their natural tendency, it is certain there will always be enough of that spirit for every salutary purpose. And there being constant danger of excess, the effort ought to be, by force of public opinion, to mitigate and assuage it. A fire not to be quenched, it demands a uniform vigilance to prevent it bursting into a flame, lest instead of warming, it should consume.

It is important likewise, that the habits of thinking in a free country should inspire caution in those intrusted with its administration, to confine themselves within their respective constitutional spheres, avoiding in the exercise of the powers of one department, to encroach upon another. The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create, whatever the form of government, a real despotism. A just estimate of that love of power and proneness to abuse it which predominate in the human heart, is sufficient to satisfy us of the truth of this position. The necessity of reciprocal checks in the exercise of political power, by dividing and distributing it into different depositories, and constituting each the guardian of the public weal against invasions of the others, has been evinced by experiments ancient and modern; some of them in our country and under our own eyes.—To preserve them must be

as necessary as to institute them. If, in the opinion of the people, the distribution or modification of the constitutional powers be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in the way which the constitution designates.—But let there be no change by usurpation; for though this, in one instance, may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed. The precedent must always greatly overbalance in permanent evil any partial or transient benefit which the use can at any time yield.

Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism, who should labor to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens. The mere politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and to cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connections with private and public felicity. Let it simply be asked, where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation desert the oaths which are the instruments of investigation in courts of justice? and let us with caution indulge the supposition that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect, that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle.

It is substantially true, that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government. The rule, indeed extends with more or less force to every species of free government. Who that is a sincere friend to it can look with indifference upon attempts to shake the foundation of the fabric?

Promote, then, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it should be enlightened.

As a very important source of strength and security, cherish public credit. One method of preserving it is to use it as sparingly as possible, avoiding occasions of expense by cultivating peace, but remembering, also, that timely disbursements, to prepare for danger, frequently prevent much greater disbursements to repel it; avoiding likewise the accumulation of debt, not only by shunning occasions of expense, but by vigorous exertions, in time of peace, to discharge the debts which unavoidable wars may have occasioned, not ungenerously throwing upon posterity the burden which we ourselves ought to bear. The execution of these maxims belongs to your representatives, but it is necessary that public opinion should co-operate. To facilitate to them the performance of their duty, it is essential that you should practically bear in mind, that towards the payment of debts there must be revenue; that to have revenue there must be taxes, that no taxes can be devised which are not more or less inconvenient and unpleasant; that the intrinsic embarrassment

inseparable from the selection of the proper object (which is always a choice of difficulties,) ought to be a decisive motive for a candid construction of the conduct of the government in making it, and for a spirit of acquiescence in the measures for obtaining revenue, which the public exigencies may at any time dictate.

Observe good faith and justice towards all nations; cultivate peace and harmony with all. Religion and morality enjoin this conduct, and can it be that good policy does not equally enjoin it? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and, at no distant period, a great nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence. Who can doubt but, in the course of time and things, the fruits of such a plan would richly repay any temporary advantages which might be lost by a steady adherence to it; can it be that Providence has not connected the permanent felicity of a nation with its virtue? The experiment, at least is recommended by every sentiment which ennobles human nature. Alas! is it rendered impossible by its vices?

In the execution of such a plan, nothing is more essential than that permanent, inveterate antipathies against particular nations and passionate attachments for others, should be excluded; and that, in place of them, just and amicable feelings towards all should be cultivated. The nation which indulges towards another an habitual hatred, or an habitual fondness, is in some degree a slave. It is a slave to its animosity or to its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interest. Antipathy in one nation against another disposes each more readily to offer insult and injury, to lay hold of slight causes of umbrage, and to be haughty and intractable when accidental or trifling occasions of dispute occur. Hence, frequent collisions, obstinate, envenomed, and bloody contests. The nation, prompted by ill will and resentment, sometimes impels to war the government, contrary to the best calculations of policy. The government sometimes participates in the national propensity, and adopts through passion what reason would reject; at other times, it makes the animosity of the nation subservient to projects of hostility, instigated by pride, ambition, and other sinister and pernicious motives. The peace often, sometimes perhaps the liberty of nations, has been the victim.

So likewise, a passionate attachment of one nation for another produces a variety of evils. Sympathy for the favorite nation, facilitating the illusion of an imaginary common interest, in cases where no real common interest exists, and infusing into one the enmities of the other, betrays the former into a participation in the quarrels and wars of the latter, without adequate inducements or justifications. It leads also to concessions, to the favorite nation, of privileges denied to others, which is apt doubly to injure the nation making the concessions, by unnecessarily parting with what ought to have been retained, and by exciting jealousy, ill will, and a



disposition to retaliate in the parties from whom equal privileges are withheld; and it gives to ambitious, corrupted or deluded citizens who devote themselves to the favorite nation, facility to betray or sacrifice the interests of their own country, without odium, sometimes even with popularity; gilding with the appearances of a virtuous sense of obligation, a commendable deference for public opinion, or a laudable zeal for public good, the base or foolish compliances of ambition, corruption, or infatuation.

As avenues to foreign influence in innumerable ways, such attachments are particularly alarming to the truly enlightened and independent patriot. How many opportunities do they afford to tamper with domestic factions, to practice the arts of seduction, to mislead public opinion, to influence or awe the public councils!—Such an attachment of a small or weak, towards a great and powerful nation, dooms the former to be the satellite of the latter.

Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence, (I conjure you to believe me fellow citizens,) the jealousy of a free people ought to be *constantly* awake; since history and experience prove, that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican government. But that jealousy, to be useful, must be impartial, else it becomes the instrument of the very influence to be avoided, instead of a defense against it. Excessive partiality for one foreign nation and excessive dislike for another, cause those whom they actuate to see danger only on one side, and serve to veil and even second the arts of influence on the other. Real patriots, who may resist the intrigues of the favorite, are liable to become suspected and odious; while its tools and dupes usurp the applause and confidence of the people, to surrender their interests.

The great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign nations, is, in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little *political* connection as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements, let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith:—Here let us stop.

Europe has a set of primary interests, which to us have none, or a very remote relation. Hence, she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves, by artificial ties, in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics, or the ordinary combinations and collusions of her friendships or enmities.

Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course. If we remain one people, under an efficient government, the period is not far off when we may defy material injury from external annoyance; when we may take such an attitude as will cause the neutrality we may at any time resolve upon, to be scrupulously respected; when belligerent nations, under the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us, will not lightly hazard the giving us

provocation, when we may choose peace or war, as our interest, guided by justice, shall counsel.

Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation? Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalry, interest, humor, or caprice?

It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliance with any portion of the foreign world; so far, I mean, as we are now at liberty to do it; for let me not be understood as capable of patronizing infidelity to existing engagements. I hold the maximum no less applicable to public than private affairs, that honesty is always the best policy. I repeat it, therefore, let those engagements be observed in their genuine sense. But in my opinion, it is unnecessary, and would be unwise to extend them.

Taking care always to keep ourselves by suitable establishments, on a respectable defensive posture, we may safely trust to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies.

Harmony, and a liberal intercourse with all nations, are recommended by policy, humanity and interest. But even our commercial policy should hold an equal and impartial hand; neither seeking nor granting exclusive favors or preferences; consulting the natural course of things; diffusing and diversifying by gentle means the streams of commerce, but forcing nothing; establishing with powers so disposed, in order to give trade a stable course, to define the rights of our merchants, and to enable the government to support them, conventional rules of intercourse, the best that present circumstances and mutual opinion will permit, but temporary, and liable to be from time to time abandoned or varied as experience and circumstances shall dictate; constantly keeping in view, that it is folly in one nation to look for disinterested favors from another; that it must pay with a portion of its independence for whatever it may accept under that character; that by such acceptance, it may place itself in the condition of having given equivalents for nominal favors, and yet of being reproached with ingratitude for not giving more. There can be no greater error than to expect, or calculate upon real favors from nation to nation. It is an illusion which experience must cure, which a just pride ought to discard.

In offering to you, my countrymen, these counsels of an old and affectionate friend, I dare not hope they will make the strong and lasting impression I could wish; that they will control the usual current of the passions, or prevent our nation from running the course which has hitherto marked the destiny of nations, but if I may even flatter myself that they may be productive of some partial benefit, some occasional good; that they may now and then recur to moderate the fury of party spirit, to warn against the mischiefs of foreign intrigue, to guard against the impostures of pretended patriotism; this hope will

be a full recompense for the solicitude for your welfare by which they have been dictated.

How far, in the discharge of my official duties, I have been guided by the principles which have been delineated, the public records and other evidences of my conduct must witness to you and to the world. To myself, the assurance of my own conscience is, that I have, at least, believed myself to be guided by them.

In relation to the still subsisting war in Europe; my proclamation of the 22d of April, 1793, is the index to my plan. Sanctioned by your approving voice, and by that of your representatives in both houses of congress, the spirit of that measure has continually governed me, uninfluenced by any attempts to deter or divert me from it.

After deliberate examination, with the aid of the best lights I could obtain, I was well satisfied that our country, under all the circumstances of the case, had a right to take, and was bound, in duty and interest, to take a neutral position. Having taken it, I determined, as far as should depend upon me, to maintain it with moderation, perseverance and firmness.

The considerations which respect the right to hold this conduct, it is not necessary on this occasion to detail. I will only observe that, according to my understanding of the matter, that right, so far from being denied by any of the belligerent powers, has been virtually admitted by all.

The duty of holding a neutral conduct may be inferred, without any thing more, from the obligation which justice and humanity impose on every nation, in cases in which it is free to act, to maintain inviolate the relations of peace and amity towards other nations.

The inducements of interest for observing that conduct will best be referred to your own reflections and experience. With me a predominant motive has been to endeavor to gain time to our country to settle and mature its yet recent institutions, and to progress, without interruption, to that degree of strength, and consistency which is necessary to give it, humanly speaking, the command of its own fortunes.

Though in reviewing the incidents of my administration, I am unconscious of intentional error, I am nevertheless too sensible of my defects not to think it probable that I may have committed many errors. Whatever they may be, I fervently beseech the Almighty to avert or mitigate the evils to which they may tend. I shall also carry with me the hope that my country will never cease to view them with indulgence; and that, after forty-five years of my life dedicated to its service, with an upright zeal, the faults of incompetent abilities will be consigned to oblivion, as myself must soon be to the mansions of rest.

Relying on its kindness in this as in other things, and actuated by that fervent love towards it, which is so natural to a man who views in it the native soil of himself and his progenitors for several generations; I anticipate with pleasing expectation that retreat in which I

promise myself to realize without alloy, the sweet enjoyment of partaking, in the midst of my fellow citizens, the benign influence of good laws under a free government—the ever favorite object of my heart, and the happy reward, as I trust, of our mutual cares, labors and dangers.

GEO. WASHINGTON.

UNITED STATES.  
19th September, 1796.

FACTS CONCERNING GEORGE WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES

Mr. STEFAN. Mr. Speaker, when the House honored me with the privilege of reading this famous address on the birth anniversary of our first President, I made some inquiry about its history, and here are certain interesting facts.

President Washington wrote the address primarily to eliminate himself as a candidate for a third term. It was never read by the President in public, but printed in Claypool's American Daily Advertiser, Philadelphia, September 19, 1796.

The address is in two parts. In the first, Washington definitely declines a third term, gives his reasons, and acknowledges a debt of gratitude for the honors conferred upon him and for the confident support of the people. In the second and more important part he presents, as a result of his experience and as a last legacy of advice, thoughts upon the Government.

After Claypool's death the manuscript was ordered to be sold at auction on February 12, 1850. Senator Henry Clay on January 24, 1850, offered a joint resolution for its purchase by the Government, but the resolution was not signed by President Taylor until the day of the sale. The manuscript was sold to James Lenox for \$2,300, and passed, with his library, to the New York Public Library.

There is no evidence of any bid on behalf of the National Government.

PROTECTION OF THE CAPITOL

The SPEAKER. One of the responsibilities of the Speakership is the protection of the Members and the places in which they work. This responsibility, of course, is a little more anxious one right now than in ordinary times, and anything that is done or any regulation that is issued is issued after the best and most competent advice the Speaker is able to get.

Some time ago cards were issued and no one was allowed to come into the gallery without one. These cards have been outstanding for some time, and I am sorry to say they have been widely distributed, many of them mailed to distant points in the country. The Chair and those who advise him have decided that it is best to revoke all outstanding cards of admission to the galleries. New cards have been printed and will be distributed to the Members today and tomorrow, as the cards to the gallery outstanding will not be honored after Wednesday morning. And may the Chair hazard just one suggestion, and that is that as to the men around the Capitol, and especially those in uniform, who, at the request of the organization on Cap-

itol Hill, are sent up here, that we be not impatient with them when we happen to leave our identification cards at home or in our office. They are here to protect you and me and this invaluable property in which we work; and to the young men around the Capitol I would bespeak the same consideration.

Another thing that those who advise me think is highly advisable is that the people entering any of the galleries, except the Members' gallery, submit themselves to search. This is thought wise and judicious by men who will be in the Capitol and who will be competent for the work.

I hope this may not seem too irksome to some of our people who may come to Washington. I am willing to take this responsibility for the reason that if a mishap occurs around the Capitol somebody has got to take the responsibility, and I am willing to share my part of it. So I hope the cards that will be issued in lieu of those outstanding may be handed in Washington to visitors and constituents of yours and not be mailed around the country.

Mr. RANKIN of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, on that point may I make the suggestion to the Chair that instead of issuing these cards for the duration of the Congress that they be limited to a given number of days or for the time or the day when the visitor expects to visit the House?

Mr. DINGELL. And, Mr. Speaker, may I make the further suggestion that all cards be signed by the recipients in their own handwriting, because you cannot identify a card holder without a signature.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. REECE of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD and to include therein a report to the Secretary of Agriculture from the Commissioner of Narcotics on the drug traffic, with respect to the dangers in relation thereto, together with a brief editorial regarding the matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Tennessee?

There was no objection.

Mr. CLASON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and to include a news item from this morning's Washington Post.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD and include therein an address which I delivered yesterday, February 22, at Mount Vernon during the ceremonies in which diplomatic representatives from the peoples who are battling the Japanese in the Pacific placed wreaths upon the tomb of George Washington.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. BLOOM. Also, Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my re-

marks in the RECORD and include an address delivered by Mr. Sumner Welles.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. GUYER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks and include a speech delivered by Hon. JOSEPH W. MARTIN, of Massachusetts, at Kansas City.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. WELCH. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks and include an editorial from the San Francisco News.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. FULMER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD and include a brief item.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. NORRELL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks and include three short letters.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. COSTELLO. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that my colleague the gentleman from California [Mr. KRAMER] may have permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include an address by James Rowe, an assistant to the Attorney General.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. COSTELLO. Also, Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks and include an address by Mayor Bowron, of Los Angeles.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. JENNINGS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks and include a sermon by the Reverend Charles Barbour.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. PAGÁN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD and include certain newspaper comments on Mr. Tugwell, the Governor of Puerto Rico.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks and include a very remarkable editorial by R. W. Hitchcock, in the Rapid City Journal, entitled "Washington, Talk to Yourself."

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE OF UNITED STATES CITIZENSHIP

Mr. LEWIS, on behalf of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. SABATH], and by direction of the Committee on Rules, submitted the following resolution (H. Res. 443) for printing, under the rule, which was read and referred to the House Calendar and ordered to be printed:

*Resolved*, That upon the adoption of this resolution it shall be in order to move that the House resolve itself into a Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H. R. 6600) providing for the issuance of documentary evidence of United States citizenship. That



after general debate, which shall be confined to the bill and continue not to exceed 1 hour, to be equally divided and controlled by the chairman and ranking minority member of the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, the bill shall be read for amendment under the 5-minute rule. At the conclusion of such consideration, the Committee shall rise and report the bill to the House with such amendments as may have been adopted and the previous question shall be considered as ordered on the bill and amendments thereto to final passage without intervening motion, except one motion to recommit.

#### TO EXPEDITE THE PROSECUTION OF THE WAR

Mr. LEWIS, on behalf of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. SABATH] and by direction of the Committee on Rules submitted the following resolution (H. Res. 444) for printing, under the rule, which was read, and referred to the House Calendar and ordered printed:

*Resolved*, That upon the adoption of this resolution it shall be in order to move that the House resolve itself into a Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of the act (S. 2208) to further expedite the prosecution of the war. That after general debate, which shall be confined to the act and continue not to exceed 4 hours, to be equally divided and controlled by the chairman and ranking minority member of the Committee on the Judiciary, the act shall be read for amendment under the 5-minute rule. At the conclusion of such consideration, the Committee shall rise and report the act to the House with such amendments as may have been adopted and the previous question shall be considered as ordered on the act and amendments thereto to final passage without intervening motion, except one motion to recommit.

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. HOOK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Record and include a resolution on unemployment benefits under the W. P. A.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection? There was no objection.

Mr. HOOK. Also, Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Record and include a statement that I issued with regard to the so-called congressional pensions.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection? There was no objection.

Mr. ELLIS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in two particulars and include newspaper editorials.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection? There was no objection.

#### FARM LABOR

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for half a minute and revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection? There was no objection.

[Mr. BURDICK addressed the House. His remarks appear in the Appendix.]

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. GEHRMANN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks and include therein a letter from one of my constituents and a short newspaper article.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. O'HARA. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Record and include an editorial from the Mankato Free Press, and also an editorial from the Saturday Evening Post.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. VOORHIS of California. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks and include an article by Maj. George Fielding Eliot.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks and include a recent address by the archbishop of New Orleans.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

#### SECURITY FOR THE AGED

Mr. GREEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks and include therein a letter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. GREEN. Mr. Speaker, when we have for consideration tomorrow the bill to repeal the annuity for House and Senate Members, the civil-service amendment, it will be an opportune time for the House to give consideration effectively to security of the aged of our country.

I hope the House will join with me tomorrow in substituting for this bill a reasonable, straight Federal pension for the aged of this country.

#### PASS, NOW, OLD-AGE PENSION BILL AND REPEAL SENATORS' AND CONGRESSMEN'S LAW

During the past few weeks much correct and incorrect publicity has been given to the civil-service amendment bill, H. R. 6528. As you, of course, understand, one of the provisions of this bill extends to Senators and Congressmen the optional right to contribute 5 percent of their salaries into a retirement fund and to draw back from this fund an annual annuity after they reach the age of 62, if they are then retired from Congress. This bill may better be called the social-security extension bill. However, that is not the impression that the American public has of it. The impression has gone out that this bill would grant large, comfortable, and unjustifiable pensions to Senators and Congressmen.

#### I VOTE FOR REPEAL

Under the provisions of the bill, in my own case it would be necessary for me to now put into the fund approximately \$8,400 in order for me to draw out of the fund, upon reaching retirement age, \$101 per month. Of course, I have not this large sum of money, and, if I did have it, could not afford to put it into the fund. The law means nothing to me. I am not participating under it; I did not vote for it; and I shall vote for its immediate repeal. I am not willing to be a party to a law like this while the senior citizens of our Nation go unprovided for. It is true that we have social security for them, but it is true, likewise, that under existing conditions this social

security is not carrying adequate relief and is carrying no relief to the large majority of the aged of America.

Our great and beneficent Government has extended rather liberal retirement for employees of the Government other than, of course, Congressmen and Senators. Take, for instance, the officers of the Army and Navy may retire upon three-fourths pay, and without contributing to their own retirement fund. Federal judges may retire upon full pay without contributing toward their own retirement fund. Regular civil-service employees may retire upon reasonable annuity, but they, of course, are compelled to contribute a percentage of their salaries to the retirement fund. They are, I believe, now contributing 5 percent of each month's salary to the retirement fund. This retirement fund is maintained largely by these civil-service employees' contributions. Social-security retirement is brought about, I believe, through contribution of 3 percent on the part of the participant, and some social-security contributors may receive as high as \$60 or \$80 per month upon retiring. We have passed a law for the retirement of railroad employees. The employee, I believe, contributes 3 percent to his retirement fund, and the railroad company contributes a percentage. One of the most meritorious pieces of legislation ever passed by the Congress was the Railroad Employees' Retirement Act.

I suggest that in legislation for the repeal of H. R. 6528, we include in this repeal legislation, an item for a straight Federal pension for American citizens above the age of 60 years. In other words, let us have the courage to substitute for our own pension retirement possibilities a real straight Federal pension for the aged. I would prefer to see these aged and needy citizens have even a small pension than for me to have a pension or annuity; and by the way, when a Senator or Congressman reaches his 60 years of age, he can then come under the general old-age retirement pension bill that I propose now we substitute for this so-called Congressmen-and-Senators pension bill. There is no difference between a Congressman or Senator and other aged citizen of our country. Under our great scheme of American affairs, we are all equal and should share and share alike in the responsibilities to our Government, and in any benefits springing from the Government.

#### TOWNSEND PLAN BILL

We have before us now many bills and plans for pension for the aged. At least two of these I know are receiving the serious consideration of a large number of the Members of the House. One of them is H. R. 1036, as introduced by our colleague from Montana [Mr. O'CONNOR], and known as the Townsend plan bill. It is workable; it is meritorious; and will in fact bring security to the aged of our land. I have long supported this legislation and was 1 of the 101 House Members who signed petition for consideration of this bill in the previous Congress. Among these 101 signatures, Florida gave four of its five Members. They were PETERSON, HENDRICKS, CANNON, and myself. We have now a petition on the

Speaker's desk, bearing the signatures of almost half of the membership of the House. This is Discharge Petition No. 7, and would call for the immediate consideration of H. R. 1036. I am proud to tell you that Florida now has on that petition all of her 5 House Members; PETERSON, HENDRICKS, CANNON, SIKES, and myself.

Many of us who believe in this legislation have meetings at frequent intervals in an effort to obtain the required 218 signatures to bring about consideration by the House of Representatives of this bill. Dr. Francis E. Townsend and thousands of American citizens throughout the country have labored for years to bring about the writing into law of this meritorious legislation. Recently I had a letter from Dr. Townsend, in part as follows:

"As an organization we are extremely anxious not to lose any of the friends in Congress who have so dependably supported us, so I am confident that there will be little or no opposition to your proposed candidacy for Congressman at Large.

I hope you may be elected to that important post."

#### GENERAL WELFARE BILL

The other bill which is of unusual merit and worthiness for our immediate consideration is H. R. 1410. It is sponsored by thousands of American citizens throughout this country and is known as the General Welfare Act. We have on the Speaker's desk Petition No. 6 which would compel consideration by the House of this worthy legislation. This petition is signed by scores of Congressmen, almost enough to bring the bill to a vote. I signed this petition. Mr. Speaker and my colleagues, it is noteworthy that practically all the Congressmen signing Petition No. 6 are signers of Petition No. 7. This is convincing proof that those of us in the House of Representatives who are sincerely endeavoring to obtain security for the aged of this land are not concerned primarily with language in bills but are concerned about the eminent and meritorious need for straight Federal pension for the aged of our country, and we want passage now.

The General Welfare Federation of America has thousands of sponsors but one of the most sincere and helpful advocates is Hon. Arthur L. Johnson, the executive and legislative secretary of this association. Recently I received a letter from Arthur, which I prize very highly. It is as follows:

#### GENERAL WELFARE FEDERATION OF AMERICA,

Washington, D. C., January 30, 1942.

HON. LEX GREEN,

Member of Congress,

House Office Building,

Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. GREEN: We desire to thank you most sincerely for all you have done for the cause of pensions at our National Capital, and to assure you, as an organization, of our unqualified and enthusiastic support in the coming campaign.

In accordance with our national bylaws, our board of directors has given you its unanimous endorsement on account of what you have done for pensions.

The writer knows personally, after 5 years of association with you, just how effective this aid has been, and we hope to be able, in cooperation with the pension groups in Flor-

ida that are associated with us, to be an effective unit in the campaign to make certain that you remain in Congress to continue your activities on behalf of the senior citizens of America.

With best wishes for your continued success as one who has served your State well in Congress for 18 years and with kindest regards, we remain,

Very sincerely yours,

ARTHUR L. JOHNSON,

Executive and Legislative Secretary.

Time will not permit me to attempt an analysis of the two bills just mentioned. This can and will be done when the legislation is before the House for a vote, which I trust will be in the very, very near future. All I would hope to do today is to urge upon you the merit and importance of legislation now for straight Federal pension for the aged and to remind you of the appropriateness of the enactment of legislation for this purpose simultaneously with the repeal of the so-called pension for Senators and Congressmen legislation.

#### I WANT FEDERAL PENSIONS FOR THE AGED ON PAY-AS-YOU-GO BASIS NOW

I believe that each of you realize with me the eminent necessity of more adequate security for the aged of our Nation and also you know as well as I do that existing social-security legislation has not fully met this requirement. It is true that social-security legislation now in existence has carried helpful benefits to some of the aged, the blind, needy, children, and the weak. Only a small percentage of those entitled to and in need of these benefits have been able to receive them. This lack of assistance is caused both by the inadequacy of the legislation itself and by the various States not sufficiently matching funds.

#### TITLES I AND II, SOCIAL SECURITY ACT

Of the existing social-security legislation, I would call your particular attention to titles I and II of the Social Security Act, as amended. These are the provisions which should be repealed and for which reasonable, just, and fair legislation should be substituted.

It has been estimated that of an average group of 1,000 American citizens over 65 years of age in 1937, only 128 had current earnings, only 150 had savings, and only 73 had public or private pensions, while 203 were dependent wholly or in part on private or public charity, and 446 were living on the hand-outs of friends and relatives. This revelation was made by statistics prepared, I believe, by the Social Security Board. These statistics show the alarming need for adequate help for the some 7,000,000 citizens in America above 65 years of age and also for almost an equal number between 60 and 65 years of age.

There are between thirteen and fourteen million American citizens over 60 years of age. According to the above statistics, some 85 percent of them were in need of assistance or were actually receiving assistance.

Some time ago there was an announcement from the Social Security Board that \$114,000,000 would be distributed among 912,000 old people this year. This, of course, is only about \$10 per month, and bear in mind that this 912,000 is only

about 25 percent of those in the country who are above 65 years of age, and who are in desperate need.

The average pension, or income of \$10 per month for a person 65 years of age or above, is so meager and inadequate that it is ridiculous. Now, I am not condemning these payments because they have helped and are helping the aged of our country a great deal, but what I am trying to impress upon you is the great necessity of the Congress to now pass pay-as-you-go pension legislation which will bring security for all of the aged citizens in our country.

Under existing law, the Federal Government puts up \$20 per month, providing this \$20 is equally matched by the State. Under the existing plan, the State of California is, I believe, the only State fully matching the \$20 and paying a pension of \$40 per month. The scale goes on down among the several States, and reaches a low of average pension in another State of \$5.80 per month. The total average paid throughout the United States, in all States, is \$19 or \$20 per month.

I contend that the present social-security set-up in the way it affects the aged is not adequate.

#### UNFAIR TO WEAK STATES

I would not have you get the impression that all of the aged citizens in the various States who are in need are receiving these pensions—quite the contrary. I can speak better for my own State than I can for others. Our State has failed to provide funds to adequately match the Federal offer and through regulations, fully three-fourths of the aged who should receive pensions are not getting a thin dime. In other words, the "need clause" is forcefully stressed, making it practically impossible for one to get any allowance unless he is, in fact, a destitute pauper. The poor States are not able to match the \$20 per month, or they are not doing it, and through default of this matching, funds from the weak States are siphoned out into the rich States. The powerful and rich States are the ones that are matching the highest Federal funds. When a small, weak State defaults on matching, the people of this State still pay into the social-security fund their industrial and employment pro rata of Federal taxes. They enrich the national fund which is in turn siphoned out into the powerful States. This plan is wrong.

An aged person can be just as hungry in Florida, Georgia, or Arkansas as he is in California, Pennsylvania, or New York. Hunger respects no State line and destitution chooses no particular locality.

The citizens of my State are in dead earnest about obtaining passage of legislation for real security for the aged. They are organized in all parts of the State and are earnestly and actively cooperating with the Florida delegation in Congress for passage of this legislation.

All citizens owe their allegiance to the Constitution of the United States. State constitutions control locally, but cannot supersede the Federal Constitution. Likewise, American citizens are citizens of the United States; to it they owe their allegiance, and from it they are entitled



to security and protection. Pensions to the aged and to the blind should be paid equally and in equal amount in every State in the Union. In practice of existing law this is not being done. This grievous wrong must be righted.

#### CONTRIBUTIONS FROM WAGE EARNERS ARE TOO HEAVY

Under existing social-security retirement plan, contributions are made from wage earners up to \$250 per month, beginning, of course, with a meager earning of, I believe, \$200 per year. In some sections of this country, particularly in the farm areas, many wage earners do not obtain as much as \$200 a year. What about his social-security retirement under the present law? Also, what about the man who is not employed during each year gainfully the required number of days, and who does not receive the required amount during each quarter? This man loses his contribution rights and also his retirement-benefit rights. Under the present plan of retirement at 65 years of age, it is indicated that 15 percent of those taxed will be returned nothing at all, since they failed to qualify. Another 15 percent will get the statutory minimum of the act, of \$10 a month; and a good 40 percent more will receive under \$19 per month. This last group will have a monthly average of about \$14.50 per month. From this it is apparent that more than half of those now contributing to old-age pension retirement through their wages will get on an average of \$14.50 per month retirement after they reach 65 years of age. The other 50 percent of contributors will receive monthly pensions of from, say, \$19 up to \$85 per month. A comparatively few will receive \$85 per month, because these will be the ones having paid in on monthly salaries of \$250 per month.

#### THE RICH SHOULD PAY ALSO

Why should contributions stop on salaries of \$250 per month and none be taxed on the higher salaries? This is all wrong. Regardless of the income and the salary of the individual the proportionate rate of payment should be made. Under actual operation of existing law those receiving the largest monthly payments will be those in the main who are already financially secure and who really do not need any Federal assistance while the large majority of cases, those receiving the pittance of from \$10 to \$14.50 per month, will be the ones who are weak and insecure financially. My friends, again this is wrong.

The aged of our country should be adequately provided for and should share and share alike, in their old days, in Government pensions. Security of the aged is a Federal responsibility. Our Nation and our Government is as strong only as its citizens are. An economically secure and happy citizenship is the best assurance that our Nation can ever have prosperity and peace.

Under existing social-security law the large volume of payments and the burden of its operations come from those least able to pay. I favor social-security legislation which will exact a due and fair toll from those most able to pay rather than to continue to bleed the weak.

The large salaries and incomes of individuals should appropriately be taxed to help take care of the needy. These incomes are more enormous than one would casually believe. Some 2 years ago the Treasury Department made public names of those who receive more than \$75,000 per year. The fabulous incomes of such individuals as Henry Ford and John D. Rockefeller are not included, but included are a few which are considered by the ultrarich as modest incomes; for instance, Thomas J. Watson, head of International Business Machines Corporation, with \$453,440; that was for 1938. This same year motion-picture actress Claudette Colbert pulled down an income of \$301,944, and Louis B. Mayer, M. G. M. head, in 1937 drew a salary of \$1,161,753. Bing Crosby crooned out \$260,000, and even little Shirley Temple was paid \$114,848. Charles B. Dulcan, Sr., director of Hecht Co. Department Store, Washington, D. C., received the modest sum of \$101,309. William Randolph Hearst, the great publisher, drew \$500,000 in 1937. George Washington Hill, of the American Tobacco Co., obtained \$380,976 in 1938 and almost as much in 1937, and probably a great deal more in 1939, as the past year was a much better business year than 1938, and, mind you, during the past year of 1939 the tobacco growers in my district hardly obtained cost of production of the tobacco. The price of cigarettes, chewing tobacco, and snuff remained the same or even more during this bad sales period of 1939. W. S. Knudsen, of General Motors, was paid \$303,400; Walter P. Chrysler, of Chrysler Motors, \$189,136; and Winthrop Aldrich, of the Chase National Bank, New York City, in 1938 was paid \$177,600; Owen D. Young, General Electric Corporation, drew the handsome salary of \$245,447. Why, H. F. Sinclair, of Consolidated Oil Co., drew \$200,550 in 1938.

It is only fair and just and in the interest of better life in America that these huge salaries and incomes should bear their part toward giving the necessities of life and security to the aged of this country, and I shall never cease my efforts nor lay down my weapons until the aged and needy of this Nation are cared for.

#### PAY AS YOU GO

With the large Federal expenditures now required, and the huge deficit in the Federal Treasury, it is indeed appropriate to have security for the aged on a pay-as-you-go basis. It would occur to me that any individual or organization receiving more than \$250 per month would be willing to give 2 percent for the security of the aged and less fortunate. The earning possibilities of these who pay this 2-percent income tax will be substantially enhanced.

#### STATE \$1, FEDERAL \$2

While the social-security bill was before the House, a large number of us did all possible to favorably amend this bill. I voted for amendment which would have given for pensions for the aged 100 percent from the Government. When this failed, I voted for amendment for the State to put up \$1, the Federal Government \$4; when this amendment failed, I voted for amendment for the State to

put up \$1, the Government \$3; when this failed, I voted for amendment for the State to put up \$1 and the Government \$2. This last proposition of \$2 to 1, indeed, should have been adopted, but, in spite of all that we liberals could do, we were outvoted by those who felt the State should put up \$1 and the Government \$1; in other words, the present 50-50 matching plan of \$20 by the Federal Government and \$20 by the State government, making a total pension of \$40 per month possible.

#### FLORIDA LEGISLATURE FAILS TO MATCH FEDERAL FUNDS

The Florida State Legislature has miserably failed to put up Florida's \$20 to match the Federal \$20. If the Florida Legislature now will appropriate sufficient moneys and repeal harsh State law restrictions, the needy aged of my State would all now be getting \$40 per month. It appears, however, that the Florida Legislature will not be able to do this. I desire to see the elimination of the existing inspection of, questioning of, and embarrassment of the aged of my State concerning their applications for old-age pensions. I urge you, my colleagues, to now join with us and enact a straight Federal pension in some reasonable monthly amount to be sent straight to the individual from the Federal Treasury, and making it necessary for the applicant to prove only his age and his loyal American citizenship. I have been encouraged in this cause recently by a noble expression from our great President, as follows:

THE WHITE HOUSE,  
Washington, October 7, 1941.

HON. LEX GREEN,

Member of Congress, Starke, Fla.

MY DEAR LEX: I am in receipt of your letter of October 4 relative to old-age pensions. I am now studying various plans for the future development of the social-security program, and you may be certain that in doing so the matter of providing security for the aged will not be overlooked.

I appreciate very much having your views concerning this matter.

With all good wishes, I am,

Very sincerely yours,

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

#### WAR CRISIS INCREASES NEED

Finally, my friends, I would impress upon you that during this war crisis and following the war the needs of our unemployable aged citizens, many of them indeed infirm and bedridden, will grow more and more acute. Now is the time to give them a reasonable straight Federal pension.

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks and include therein an address delivered by our colleague, Hon. JOSEPH W. MARTIN, Jr., on last Saturday at the Editorial Banquet at Indianapolis.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, I also ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks and include therewith a poem written by Mrs. Constance S. Conrad, of Connellsville, Ind., on the subject Our America.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. LELAND M. FORD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Record and include therein a speech that I made on defense and the Japanese question on February 9.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection? There was no objection.

Mr. LELAND M. FORD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks and include an article from the Santa Monica Daily, A Traitor Still at Large, referring to Robert Noble.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection? There was no objection.

#### AXIS PROPAGANDA

Mr. FADDIS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks and include therein an article by Dorothy Thompson.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection? There was no objection.

Mr. FADDIS. Mr. Speaker, the many and oft-repeated criticisms cast regarding the war efforts of our British Allies are the result of clever Axis propaganda. Some of this criticism is true, but the most of it is untrue, unfair, and scurrilous. It is subtle sabotage of morale in both nations and certainly furnishes aid and comfort to our mutual enemies. Repetition of such malicious criticism is, to say the least, poor judgment and certainly tends to injure the common cause for which we are all fighting.

Certainly, the British have made mistakes in strategy and politics, which has cost them dearly. They have suffered reverses, some of which might have been avoided. So have we. They are in need of reforms, both political and military. We could do with some such reforms ourselves.

The insidious statement so often made that the British will fight to the last Frenchman, Greek, or what have you, never had the slightest foundation of fact. The courage of the British soldier has been proven on land and sea in every corner of the globe for centuries. Slow, blundering, and hard-headed he may be, but the Britisher is no coward. Their bulldog tenacity is legendary.

Whether or not the Britisher from the islands is as able physically as are the colonials, is another matter. Certainly men reared for generations in the congested areas of the island of Britain are not likely to equal those from the more open spaces of the world in physique and therefore will not equal them in endurance. Men bred from generations of shopkeepers, factory, and mill workers, are not as naturally adapted to army life as are those from the farms, ranches, and woods, but the fact remains that they are every bit as courageous.

The critics of Britain love to quote the population of the British Empire as over 500,000,000 people. That is true, but in all of this population there are less than 70,000,000 people far enough up in the scale of civilization to make soldiers in a modern sense. This less than 70,000,000 is scattered clear around the globe with many vital localities to defend.

Germany has 80,000,000 of people in a compact nation. She has control of 50,000,000 more in contiguous territory, and Italy another 45,000,000. Japan has

a population of over 70,000,000 at home, plus some 60,000,000 more in Korea and Manchukuo, separated only by the easily protected sea of Japan.

To feed the people on the island of Britain and to supply her industries, the British must maintain an enormous merchant marine. To guard the island, convey supplies, and to protect the far-flung empire, she must maintain an enormous navy. Both the merchant marine and navy take men.

The island of Britain is the political, social, financial, and industrial heart of the British Empire. If that island should be destroyed the defeat of the other components of the empire would be only a matter of the time necessary to defeat them in detail. Therefore, the heart must be protected first.

The false statements to the effect that the British depend upon the colonials to furnish troops for the empire armies and keep the troops from the island at home, is also Axis propaganda. The truth is, that in proportion to the population, Britain has retained less of her soldiers at home than have any of the dominions except New Zealand. The cry of a British war but the colonials fight, is also untrue. The casualty lists show that the soldiers from the island of Britain are doing all of their share of the fighting. With about 65 percent of the white population of the empire on the island of Britain, men from that island have suffered more than 70 percent of the battle casualties not to speak of the civilian casualties due to air raids.

Yes, the British have made many errors and have their faults. These errors and faults have cost them heavily. With all their faults, we must remember that they did not have to go to war with Hitler. They could have stood idly by while he overran the continent of Europe. If they had have done so they would not have made some of the strategic blunders for which they are now being so severely censured. The Japanese did not declare war upon the British, but as unprepared and as weak as the British knew themselves to be in the Far East, they went to war with Japan. With all of their blundering, I do not know of any nation I more welcome as an ally.

The article by Dorothy Thompson is as follows:

[From the Washington Evening Star]

ON THE RECORD—SINGAPORE CRITICISM RECALLS THAT WE WEREN'T SO HOT AT PEARL HARBOR, EITHER

(By Dorothy Thompson)

All right; all right; yes, I read Cecil Brown, and so did Goebbels. He's quoting him all over the place. Yes; I know the show in Singapore was not so good. Yes; I know about the complacency; yes, I know they didn't follow a "scorched earth" policy. Yes—you can't feel worse about it than I did. I know what it means. Maybe I know what it means better than you do—the fall of Singapore.

Just the same, I can't stand the cackling. Who's calling whom names? Is this war in the Far East the fault of the British? We talked a year and a half. The British supported us in the Far East, not we the British. Do you remember Pearl Harbor? Were we so hot at Pearl Harbor?

Listen, brothers: This is a war against Japan and Nazi Germany. Get this straight: The British are our Allies.

#### THE LADY AND HER CAT

I read all the interviews with the American citizens who came from Penang. The British didn't evacuate the Americans properly. The British didn't have anti-aircraft guns. The British didn't this and the British didn't that. The lady with the Siamese cat had plenty to say, as I remember.

Listen, sister, you got home all right, didn't you—you and the Siamese cat? Ever occur to you to offer one prayer of gratitude to God? If you weren't properly protected, what have you ever done to protect anybody else? Listen, sister, you get busy and join the air-raid precaution service. Get busy. There's a lot to do right here. And if things don't go well right here whom will you blame—the British?

The British didn't have to have a war with Japan and they didn't have to have a war with Hitler. Do you know that? They could have tossed the continent to the winds and made a deal with both our enemies—against us. A military deal, a financial deal, a trade deal. All they had to do was go Nazi. All they had to do was agree about spheres of influence in the Western Hemisphere and the east. Hitler's still moaning that they didn't do it.

#### SEVENTY MILLION ANGLO-SAXONS

Did you ever look at the map? There are seventy-odd-million Anglo-Saxon members of the English-speaking world outside the United States and they are scattered from Land's End to hell and gone. Not quite 2 years ago they had the Germans at the Channel and there weren't any anti-aircraft guns in Britain, either. Forty-seven million people on a little island and they could starve in a fortnight. And for a year and a half they held the world at bay alone. That doesn't make any impression on you? Fifty thousand of them died—right in England. I can't remember that anybody whimpered.

When the King of Belgium made a separate peace, Paul Reynaud cried, "Treason." Churchill said, "We reserve judgment."

Did you ever read Lincoln's second inaugural address? Take a look at it again. "The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether."

Listen to the Vichyites in New York. "Britain let us down." Not one mumbling word from Britain about the France that handed over everything to Hitler. Not a word. Only faith in France—when even France didn't have any.

#### WORK OF CENTURIES

You'd think to listen to some of you that you want Britain to lose. Careful, careful, be quiet and pray.

It took Britons and Hollanders, Frenchmen, and Americans hundreds of years to open this globe for white men. Japan, since Perry, is 88 years old. And in a few weeks hundreds of years may be swept into the ashcan, and the Japs have a straight open line from India to Suez.

You don't think much of the British Empire? No?

Well, brother, if Britain goes, write finis over western civilization. Or do you think perhaps that America can carry it alone?

You don't know what England means, my friend. England is very tired, and England is old. Yet, though it slay me, I tell you this: England is the last refuge of the civilized soul. Pray for England. I say England. England, so proud, and England who knows humility.

#### AGAIN, PEARL HARBOR

Have you heard the British say a word against the Americans? Did they crow over Pearl Harbor? Did they rush into print to talk of our smugness and complacency?

Did you ever have an Englishman or an Englishwoman for a friend? Did that friend ever let you down?

In the hour of her greatest distress, her greatest disaster, I, an American, write these



lines to England. And I say to England: In spite of Singapore I sing with you, "Land of hope and glory, mother of the free." And I sing with you, "There'll always be an England, and England will be free." And I ask you to sing with me the great songs of America, Sweet Land of Liberty, and Columbia, the Gem of the Ocean and Mine Eyes Have Seen the Glory—songs written in the world's greatest language, the great language of resistance.

#### THROUGH THE PERILOUS FIGHT

There's a line in the Star-Spangled Banner—"Stars through the perilous fight."

There are stars, England.

And don't believe the lady with the Siamese cat is America.

America knows where she is going, and she knows who's going with her—Holland and Norway and Russia, China and India. Yes, India.

And by and by the whole round globe.  
And with you, Great Britain.

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. MICHENER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and include therein an editorial.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?  
There was no objection.

Mr. LANDIS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks and include a brief newspaper article on two American heroes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?  
There was no objection.

Mr. PADDOCK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the Appendix.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?  
There was no objection.

#### DEFENSE OF ALASKA

Mr. PADDOCK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks in the RECORD at this point.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?  
There was no objection.

Mr. PADDOCK. Mr. Speaker, 6 years ago Gen. Billy Mitchell said to the Military Affairs Committee of this House:

I think whoever holds Alaska will hold the world.

These prophetic words of a great American have deep meaning for us today. We know that from Alaska we can strike at Japan. We know that from Alaska Japan can dangerously threaten the United States.

What have we done to protect Alaska? Until lately, almost nothing. Even now, not enough, by far.

With all our realization of the enormous military value of this outpost which means as much to us as Hawaii, we have communication only by sea and air. There is no road to Alaska, built, building, or even surveyed.

Let us build that road now. Let us call it the Billy Mitchell Road, so that for all time the name of an American military genius will be linked with the defense of the country he loved. No better memorial could be created to his courage and wisdom than a highway to insure the development and protection of Alaska, which he knew and we know, must be defended if the United States is to be safe against attack.

As Frank C. Waldrop, of the Washington Times-Herald, said in a recent issue:

Alaska is in danger.

Alaska is ours.

We need safer and better communication with Alaska than we now have.

The sea route we already dominate. We must dominate also the land route and the air route.

This is essential to our safety, to Alaska's safety, and to Canada's.

The Canadians are unable to guard their own coast. They have only a minuscule naval detachment and of that almost all is over in the Atlantic looking after transport of supplies to England. Yet the greatest danger to Canada lies in the Pacific.

If Japan gets free in that ocean, her swing will take her not only down through Alaska but also into Canada on her way toward the United States proper.

Canada has no means of stopping such an attack. We have.

Under the present threat against both Canada and the United States, the former Canadian objections to this Alaskan highway should be abandoned, freely and promptly. If not, we should strongly urge the military necessity of this construction. I hope and believe that our proposals will receive the speedy consent of the Canadian authorities.

#### PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

[Mr. RANKIN of Mississippi addressed the House. His remarks appear in the Appendix.]

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

(By unanimous consent, Mr. LEA was granted permission to revise and extend his own remarks.)

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Speaker, I have two requests to submit: First, to print in the Appendix a letter from the Chairman of the War Labor Board with an answer thereto; and second, to be permitted to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Speaker, I take this time to ask the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. RANKIN] a question: Is not the organization to which the gentleman refers the Civil Liberties Union, the organization which is heading the attempt to kill the Dies committee; the organization which is sending each Congressman propaganda asking him to end the existence of the Dies committee?

Mr. RANKIN of Mississippi. I do not know that it is heading that drive—

Mr. HOFFMAN. Sure it is.

Mr. RANKIN of Mississippi. But I understand it is attacking the Dies committee and the F. B. I., and that it has been attacking a great many things American here lately. It has been doing everything possible to stir up race trouble all up and down the Atlantic seaboard and throughout the Southern States for many years.

[Here the gavel fell.]

#### ESTABLISHMENT OF MILITARY AREAS ON THE WEST COAST

Mr. ROLPH. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. ROLPH. Mr. Speaker, President Roosevelt is to be highly commended for instructing the War Department to establish military areas from which all civilians—citizens or aliens—may be excluded.

Senators and Representatives in Congress from the Pacific coast, as well as the Delegate from Alaska, joined in recommendations to the President, urging this action. Our constituents are gravely concerned about the alien proposition and will deeply appreciate the President's interest in our welfare.

The President's authorization to the Army is aimed primarily at the 105,000 Japanese located on the west coast.

We of the Pacific coast are thankful.

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. STEVENSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD and to include therein a resolution regarding the welfare of the independent tire dealers and recappers of Wisconsin.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. SMITH of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and include therein two letters from the Civil Service Commission.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

#### ENTANGLING ALLIANCES

Mr. RICH. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. RICH. Mr. Speaker, George Washington warned us in his Farewell Address that we should keep out of foreign entanglements.

Over the week end I received a circular, World Fellowship, Inc., sent out in an envelope of the National Highway Association, Washington, D. C. How did they get the National Highway envelope? The letters bear the post-office stamp of New York City by special-delivery postage. It comes from World Fellowship, Inc., wanting to start a world government foundation in which it desires this country to participate in a world government. I am fearful of this proposal, just as the gentleman from Mississippi is fearful of communistic organizations within this country. Our only protection against them is to heed the warnings given us by George Washington against foreign entanglements. If we are not very careful we will get ourselves so tangled up in world affairs we can never get out, and we will lose our own Government, our freedom, and the things Washington and his army paid such a dear price for us to receive. Beware of communism and the Reds within as well as foreign entanglements and world governments. It is a fantastic dream. It may sound good but

it is most dangerous to our good and our country's welfare.

#### UNITY OF THOUGHT AND EFFORT

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, upon this momentous day when we in the House of Representatives celebrate the anniversary of George Washington's birth, and on which we shall hear the President of the United States speak to the American people, I think it not inappropriate that those who believe in the Congress, who believe in the people, who believe in our democracy, reassert their faith in our Government.

A lot of criticism has been recently made of the Congress and this administration. Some of it has been warranted. For example, the so-called congressional pension was a great mistake, wrong in principle. It has been pending for years, having been first considered by the House in 1939. I am glad to say that I have never favored it or voted for it, and I have urged the repeal of the act, which I hope will occur at the session tomorrow. Wasteful nondefense spending is bad; the employment of so-called fan dancers in Government positions is bad.

But, Mr. Speaker, let me say that I have not lost faith in the American people, in the Congress, or in the President. The people want the truth; they are impatient with side issues, nonessentials, foolishness, and waste, but they are hungry for a chance to make a real contribution to the war effort. The people are aroused; everything they have is at stake, and they are ready to make greater sacrifices in order to assure victory for God and country.

And, if we stand united, victory will be ours, and the faith of George Washington in this Nation will again be vindicated.

[Here the gavel fell.]

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. DIMOND. Mr. Speaker, I have two requests to submit. First, to extend my remarks in the RECORD and include therein an address delivered on February 22, 1941, at Manila by Admiral Thomas Hart, commanding our Naval Establishment there, and by Gen. George Grunert, commanding the general Philippine Department at that time; and second, to extend my remarks and include therein an address delivered by Hon. Golden W. Bell, legal adviser to the Commissioner of the Philippines and formerly Associate Solicitor General of the United States, on the same occasion.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

#### SENATE BILL REFERRED

A bill of the Senate of the following title was taken from the Speaker's table and, under the rule, referred as follows:

S. 2282. An act to provide for the planting of guayule and other rubber-bearing plants and to make available a source of crude rubber

for emergency and defense uses; to the Committee on Agriculture.

#### ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED

Mr. KIRWAN, from the Committee on Enrolled Bills, reported that that committee had examined and found truly enrolled bills of the House of the following titles, which were thereupon signed by the Speaker:

H. R. 268. An act for the relief of James Wood;

H. R. 793. An act for the relief of the estate of Charles D. Talbert, deceased;

H. R. 2183. An act for the relief of Hiram O. Lester, Grace D. Lester, and Florence E. Dawson;

H. R. 2712. An act for the relief of the Branchland Pipe & Supply Co.;

H. R. 2780. An act for the relief of O. C. Ousley;

H. R. 3141. An act for the relief of Fred Farner and Doris M. Schroeder;

H. R. 4537. An act for the relief of H. D. Bateman, Henry G. Conner, Jr., executor of the last will and testament of P. L. Woodard, and J. M. Creech; and

H. R. 4622. An act for the relief of Catharine Schultze.

#### BILL PRESENTED TO THE PRESIDENT

Mr. KIRWAN, from the Committee on Enrolled Bills, reported that that committee did on February 20, 1942, present to the President, for his approval, a bill of the House of the following title:

H. R. 6548. An act making appropriations to supply deficiencies in certain appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1942, and for prior fiscal years, to provide supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1942, and for other purposes.

#### ADJOURNMENT

Mr. COOPER. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 1 o'clock and 24 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned until tomorrow, Tuesday, February 24, 1942, at 12 o'clock noon.

#### COMMITTEE HEARINGS

##### COMMITTEE ON INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE

There will be a meeting of the Subcommittee on Petroleum of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, at 10 a. m., Wednesday, February 25, 1942.

Business to be considered: To resume hearings on petroleum as outlined in Mr. COLE's memorandum of February 6, 1942.

##### COMMITTEE ON INDIAN AFFAIRS

There will be a meeting of the Committee on Indian Affairs on Wednesday, February 25, 1942, at 10:30 a. m., for the continuation of hearings on S. 1476 (Florida tick bill).

##### COMMITTEE ON INVALID PENSIONS

There will be a meeting of the Committee on Invalid Pensions at 10:30 a. m., Wednesday, February 25, 1942, in room 247, House Office Building, for the purpose of considering private bills.

##### COMMITTEE ON THE MERCHANT MARINE AND FISHERIES

##### POSTPONEMENT OF HEARING ON H. R. 6503

This will advise you that the hearings previously scheduled for Tuesday, February 17, 1942, at 10 a. m., have been postponed until Thursday, February 26, 1942, at 10 a. m., on the following bill, H. R.

6503, to extend and amend certain emergency laws relating to the merchant marine, and for other purposes.

#### EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred, as follows:

1419. A communication from the President of the United States transmitting a supplemental estimate of appropriation for the St. Elizabeths Hospital for the fiscal year 1942, amounting to \$200,000 (H. Doc. No. 632); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

1420. A communication from the President of the United States, transmitting two supplemental estimates of appropriations totaling \$56,100,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1943, for civil functions administered by the War Department (H. Doc. No. 633); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

1421. A communication from the President of the United States, transmitting a supplemental estimate of appropriation in the amount of \$1,025,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1942, for the War Department for flood control, general (H. Doc. No. 634); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

1422. A letter from the Secretary of War transmitting a letter from the Chief of Engineers, United States Army, dated November 7, 1941, submitting a report, together with accompanying papers on a review of reports on the Mississippi River between Coon Rapids Dam and mouth of the Ohio River, with a view to providing flood control on the Big Grassy and Little Grassy Creeks, Ill., requested by a resolution of the Committee on Flood Control, House of Representatives, adopted on May 1, 1940; to the Committee on Flood Control.

1423. A letter from the Secretary of the Navy, transmitting a draft of a proposed bill to further amend section 206 of the act entitled "An act to provide for the establishment, administration, and maintenance of a Coast Guard Auxiliary and a Coast Guard Reserve," approved February 19, 1941, as amended; to the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

1424. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting a draft of a proposed bill for the relief of the First National Bank, Huntsville, Tex.; to the Committee on Claims.

1425. A letter from the Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a draft of a proposed bill to authorize the leasing of Indian lands for business and other purposes; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

1426. A letter from the Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a draft of a proposed bill to facilitate and simplify collection procedure in the Department of the Interior; to the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments.

1427. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting a draft of a proposed bill to relieve disbursing and certifying officers of the United States of responsibility for overpayments made on transportation accounts under certain circumstances; to the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments.

1428. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting a letter from the Chief of Engineers, United States Army, dated November 6, 1941, submitting a report, together with accompanying papers, on a preliminary examination of Kayaderos Creek, Fish Creek, and tributaries, and Saratoga Lake, N. Y., authorized by the Flood Control Act approved on June 28, 1938; to the Committee on Flood Control.

1429. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting a letter from the Acting Chief of Engineers, United States Army, dated Sep-



tember 26, 1941, submitting a report, together with accompanying papers, on a review of reports on the Ohio River with a view to improvement in the interests of navigation and hydroelectric power in the vicinity of Letart, Ohio; Hogsett, W. Va.; and Greenup, Ky., requested by resolutions of the Committee on Rivers and Harbors, House of Representatives, adopted on November 2 and December 5, 1938, and by resolution of the Committee on Commerce, United States Senate, adopted on September 14, 1938; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

1430. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting a letter from the Chief of Engineers, United States Army, dated November 7, 1941, submitting a report, together with accompanying papers, on a review of reports on the Mississippi River between Coon Rapids Dam and mouth of the Ohio River, with a view to providing flood control on Reeds Creek, Marys River, Kinkaid Creek, and Clear Creek, Ill., requested by resolution of the Committee on Flood Control, House of Representatives, adopted on May 1, 1940; to the Committee on Flood Control.

1431. A letter from the Postmaster General, transmitting the Cost Ascertainment Report and Appendix for the fiscal year 1941; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

#### REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk for printing and reference to the proper calendar, as follows:

Mr. SABATH: Committee on Rules. House Resolution 443. Resolution for the consideration of H. R. 6600, a bill providing for the issuance of documentary evidence of United States citizenship; without amendment (Rept. No. 1817). Referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. SABATH: Committee on Rules. House Resolution 444. Resolution for the consideration of S. 2208, an act to further expedite the prosecution of the war; without amendment (Rept. No. 1818). Referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. BROOKS: Committee on Military Affairs. H. R. 2804. A bill authorizing bestowal upon the unknown unidentified American buried in the Memorial Amphitheater of the National Cemetery at Arlington, Va., the decoration of the Purple Heart; without amendment (Rept. No. 1819). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. RAMSPECK: Committee on the Civil Service. H. R. 6636. A bill to amend the Civil Service Retirement Act of May 29, 1930, as amended, for the purpose of making elective officers ineligible to receive benefits under this act; without amendment (Rept. No. 1820). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. BLAND: Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries. House Joint Resolution 263. Joint resolution to provide decorations for outstanding conduct or service by persons serving in the American merchant marine; without amendment (Rept. No. 1821). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

#### REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk for printing and reference to the proper calendar, as follows:

Mr. HARRIS of Arkansas: Committee on Claims. S. 1669. An act for the relief of James Franklin Smith; without amendment (Rept. No. 1806). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. MEYER of Maryland: Committee on Claims. S. 1777. An act for the relief of Robert Lee Phillips and for the six minor children of Robert Lee Phillips and the late Estelle Phillips, namely, Robert Lee Phillips, Jr., James Rudolph Phillips, Katherine Phillips, Richard Eugene Phillips, Charles Ray Phillips, and David Delano Phillips; without amendment (Rept. No. 1807). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. MEYER of Maryland: Committee on Claims. S. 1906. An act for the relief of the estate of V. H. Himley; without amendment (Rept. No. 1808). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. HARRIS of Arkansas: Committee on Claims. H. R. 246. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Murray Freeman; with amendment (Rept. No. 1809). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. McGEHEE: Committee on Claims. H. R. 4842. A bill for the relief of Cohen, Goldman & Co., Inc.; with amendment (Rept. No. 1810). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. WEISS: Committee on Claims. H. R. 5295. A bill for the relief of the estate of Romano Emitrani; with amendment (Rept. No. 1811). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. HARRIS of Arkansas: Committee on Claims. H. R. 5504. A bill for the relief of H. J. Abney; without amendment (Rept. No. 1812). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. HARRIS of Arkansas: Committee on Claims. H. R. 5563. A bill for the relief of Joe A. Mumford and the estate of W. C. Mumford; with amendment (Rept. No. 1813). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. JENNINGS: Committee on Claims. H. R. 5778. A bill for the relief of Luther Herbert Tench and Mrs. Mildred Farmer Tench; with amendment (Rept. No. 1814). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. HARRIS of Arkansas: Committee on Claims. H. R. 6036. A bill for the relief of Roy L. Riales; without amendment (Rept. No. 1815). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. COSTELLO: Committee on Military Affairs. H. R. 3337. A bill to provide for the issuance of a duplicate adjusted-service certificate to Andrew J. Bessinger; without amendment (Rept. No. 1816). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. BROOKS: Committee on Military Affairs. S. 2063. An act to authorize certain officers and enlisted men of the Army of the United States to accept emblems, medals, orders, and decorations that have been tendered them by governments of the Western Hemisphere; without amendment (Rept. No. 1822). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

#### PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 3 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. BLAND:

H. R. 6641. A bill to amend the act entitled "An act to authorize the establishment of a permanent instruction staff at the United States Coast Guard Academy," approved April 16, 1937; to the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

H. R. 6642. A bill to amend section 8 of the act entitled "An act to provide for the establishment, administration, and maintenance of a Coast Guard Auxiliary and a Coast Guard Reserve," approved February 19, 1941, as amended; to the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. COLLINS:

H. R. 6643. A bill authorizing appropriations to reimburse States, counties, and other political subdivisions for loss of tax receipts on account of the acquisition of certain lands by

the United States; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

By Mr. DIMOND:

H. R. 6644. A bill to further amend the Alaska game law; to the Committee on the Territories.

By Mr. PAGÁN:

H. R. 6645. A bill to provide for the investigation of the feasibility and desirability as an aid in the war effort of establishing a naval station at Jobos Harbor, Guayama, P. R.; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts:

H. R. 6646. A bill to provide that the unexplained absence of any individual for 7 years shall be deemed sufficient evidence of death for the purpose of laws administered by the Veterans' Administration; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

By Mr. FADDIS:

H. R. 6647. A bill to abolish the Office of Civilian Defense and to provide for the transfer of its function to the War Department; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. GREEN:

H. R. 6648. A bill to safeguard the health of military and civilian personnel of the United States, the District of Columbia, and the Territories and possessions; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. HILL of Washington:

H. R. 6649. A bill to establish the Office of the Supreme War Command, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments.

By Mr. VINSON of Georgia:

H. R. 6650. A bill to amend subsection 11 (b) of the act approved July 24, 1941, entitled "An act authorizing the temporary appointment or advancement of certain personnel of the Navy and Marine Corps, and for other purposes"; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

H. R. 6651. A bill to authorize inclusion of service on active duty as service on the active list in computation of service of commissioned warrant officers in the Navy for pay purposes; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

#### MEMORIALS

Under clause 3 of rule XXII, memorials were presented and referred as follows:

By the SPEAKER: Memorial of the Legislature of the Territory of Puerto Rico, memorializing the President and the Congress of the United States to consider their resolution relative to the war insurance passed and provided for be made extensive to Puerto Rico; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

Also, memorial of the Legislature of the State of Kentucky, memorializing the President and the Congress of the United States to consider their Senate Resolution 42, relative to the commemoration of the State's one hundred and fiftieth birthday; to the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures.

#### PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. CHIPERFIELD:

H. R. 6652. A bill granting a pension to Maud C. Lucas; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. GREEN:

H. R. 6653. A bill for the relief of William R. Ivey; to the Committee on Claims.

#### PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

2460. By Mr. FITZPATRICK: Petition of the New York State Sewage Works Association, favoring the passage of House bill 5676

to create a division of water pollution control in the United States Public Health Service; also the passage of Senate bill 1617 to amend the Employment Stabilization Act of 1931; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

2461. By Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON: Petition of James B. Caudle, Groesbeck, Tex., favoring House bill 6390; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

2462. Also, petition of Ossie Downes, Route 5, Bryan, Tex., favoring House bill 998; to the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

2463. By Mr. KEOGH: Petition of the Allies Products, Inc., Suffern, N. Y., concerning Senate bill 2015 and House bill 5949, amending the Interstate Commerce Act, as amended, to provide for regulation of the sizes and weights of motor vehicles engaged in transportation in interstate and foreign commerce; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

2464. By Mr. ROLPH: Assembly Joint Resolution No. 20 of the State of California, relative to memorializing the President and Congress to amend the Federal Social Security Act to permit certain small income to aged and dependent beneficiaries in addition to the aid which they may receive under Federal, State, and local laws; to the Committee on Pensions.

2465. By the SPEAKER: Petition of the International Workers Order, Inc., New York, N. Y., petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to racial discrimination; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

2466. Also, petition of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee, Martins Ferry Local Union No. 1238, Martins Ferry, Ohio, petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to unemployment benefits and Work Projects Administration; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

2467. Also, petition of the Bergen County Woman's Republican Club, Inc., Glen Rock, N. J., petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to the Civil Service Retirement Act; to the Committee on the Civil Service.

2468. Also, petition of the Central Joint Committee of the Coalition Party, San Juan, P. R., petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to Gov. Rexford G. Tugwell; to the Committee on Insular Affairs.

2469. Also, petition of Local 1950 Steel Workers Organizing Committee, affiliated with Congress of Industrial Organizations, Cleveland, Ohio, petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to House Resolution 420; to the Committee on Rules.

2470. Also, petition of the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors, Los Angeles, Calif., petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to compensation for injuries or death sustained by volunteer civilian defense workers in line of duty; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

## SENATE

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 24, 1942

(Legislative day of Friday, February 13, 1942)

The Senate met at 12 o'clock noon, on the expiration of the recess.

The Reverend Charles W. F. Smith, canon, Washington Cathedral, Washington D. C., offered the following prayer:

O God, the God of the far ends of the earth and of the broad seas, who, though Thou dost rule the heavens, yet by Thy Spirit dwellest in the soul of man, be with us today. Inform our minds and

guide our wills, that we may be less concerned with calculation than with consecration. We have made with Thee a solemn pact of truth and with each other. Before Thee we have sworn not to yield. Now confirm our resolution. Keep before our eyes both the heroes of the past and the unborn generations to come, so that we may be worthy of the one and careful for the other.

We thank Thee for our allies of every clime and creed. By comradeship with Thee, our God, teach us effective unity with others that our power may grow after Thy will. Give spread to our wings, strength to our arms, and certainty to our minds. And to Thee be the glory, for Thine is the Kingdom for ever and ever. Amen.

### THE JOURNAL

On request of Mr. HILL, and by unanimous consent, the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of the calendar day Monday, February 23, 1942, was dispensed with, and the Journal was approved.

### ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT ON THE CONDUCT OF THE WAR

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD at this point the address delivered last evening by the President over various Nation-wide hook-ups, and also to have printed in connection with it an editorial from the Washington Post of today entitled "The American Eagle."

There being no objection, the address and editorial were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

### ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT DELIVERED OVER THE RADIO FEBRUARY 23, 1942

The PRESIDENT. Washington's Birthday is a most appropriate occasion for us to talk with each other about things as they are today and things as we know they shall be in the future.

For 8 years General Washington and his Continental Army were faced continually with formidable odds and recurring defeats. Supplies and equipment were lacking. In a sense, every winter was a Valley Forge. Throughout the Thirteen States there existed fifth columnists—selfish men, jealous men, fearful men, who proclaimed that Washington's cause was hopeless, that he should ask for a negotiated peace.

Washington's conduct in those hard times has provided the model for all Americans ever since—a model of moral stamina. He held to his course, as it had been charted in the Declaration of Independence. He and the brave men who served with him knew that no man's life or fortune was secure without freedom and free institutions.

The present great struggle has taught us increasingly that freedom of person and security of property anywhere in the world depend upon the security of the rights and obligations of liberty and justice everywhere in the world.

This war is a new kind of war. It is different from all other wars of the past, not only in its methods and weapons but also in its geography. It is warfare in terms of every continent, every island, every sea, every air lane in the world.

That is the reason why I have asked you to take out and spread before you the map of the whole earth, and to follow with me the references which I shall make to the world-encircling battle lines of this war. Many questions will, I fear, remain unanswered; but I know you will realize I cannot

cover everything in any one report to the people.

The broad oceans which have been heralded in the past as our protection from attack have become endless battlefields on which we are constantly being challenged by our enemies.

We must all understand and face the hard fact that our job now is to fight at distances which extend all the way around the globe.

We fight at these vast distances because that is where our enemies are. Until our flow of supplies gives us clear superiority we must keep on striking our enemies wherever and whenever we can meet them, even if, for a while, we have to yield ground. Actually we are taking a heavy toll of the enemy every day that goes by.

We must fight at these vast distances to protect our supply lines and our lines of communication with our Allies—protect these lines from the enemies who are bending every ounce of their strength, striving against time, to cut them. The object of the Nazis and the Japanese is to separate the United States, Britain, China, and Russia, and to isolate them one from another, so that each will be surrounded and cut off from sources of supplies and reinforcements. It is the old familiar Axis policy of "divide and conquer."

There are those who still think in terms of the days of sailing ships. They advise us to pull our warships and our planes and our merchant ships into our own home waters and concentrate solely on last-ditch defense. But let me illustrate what would happen if we followed such foolish advice.

Look at your map. Look at the vast area of China, with its millions of fighting men. Look at the vast area of Russia, with its powerful armies and proven military might. Look at the British Isles, Australia, New Zealand, the Dutch Indies, India, the Near East, and the Continent of Africa, with their resources of raw materials and of peoples determined to resist Axis domination. Look at North America, Central America, and South America.

It is obvious what would happen if all these great reservoirs of power were cut off from each other either by enemy action or by self-imposed isolation:

1. We could no longer send aid of any kind to China—to the brave people who, for nearly 5 years, have withstood Japanese assault, destroyed hundreds of thousands of Japanese soldiers and vast quantities of Japanese war munitions. It is essential that we help China in her magnificent defense and in her inevitable counteroffensive—for that is one important element in the ultimate defeat of Japan.

2. If we lost communication with the southwest Pacific, all of that area, including Australia and New Zealand, would fall under Japanese domination. Japan could then release great numbers of ships and men to launch attacks on a large scale against the coasts of the Western Hemisphere, including Alaska. At the same time she could immediately extend her conquests to India and through the Indian Ocean to Africa and the Near East.

3. If we were to stop sending munitions to the British and the Russians in the Mediterranean and Persian Gulf areas, we would help the Nazis to overrun Turkey, Syria, Iraq, Persia, Egypt, and the Suez Canal, the whole coast of north Africa, and the whole coast of west Africa—putting Germany within easy striking distance of South America.

4. If, by such a fatuous policy, we ceased to protect the North Atlantic supply line to Britain and to Russia, we would help to cripple the splendid counteroffensive by Russia against the Nazis, and we would help to deprive Britain of essential food supplies and munitions.

Those Americans who believed that we could live under the illusion of isolationism wanted the American eagle to imitate the tactics of the ostrich. Now, many of those same peo-